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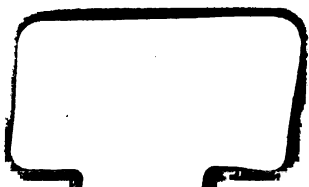
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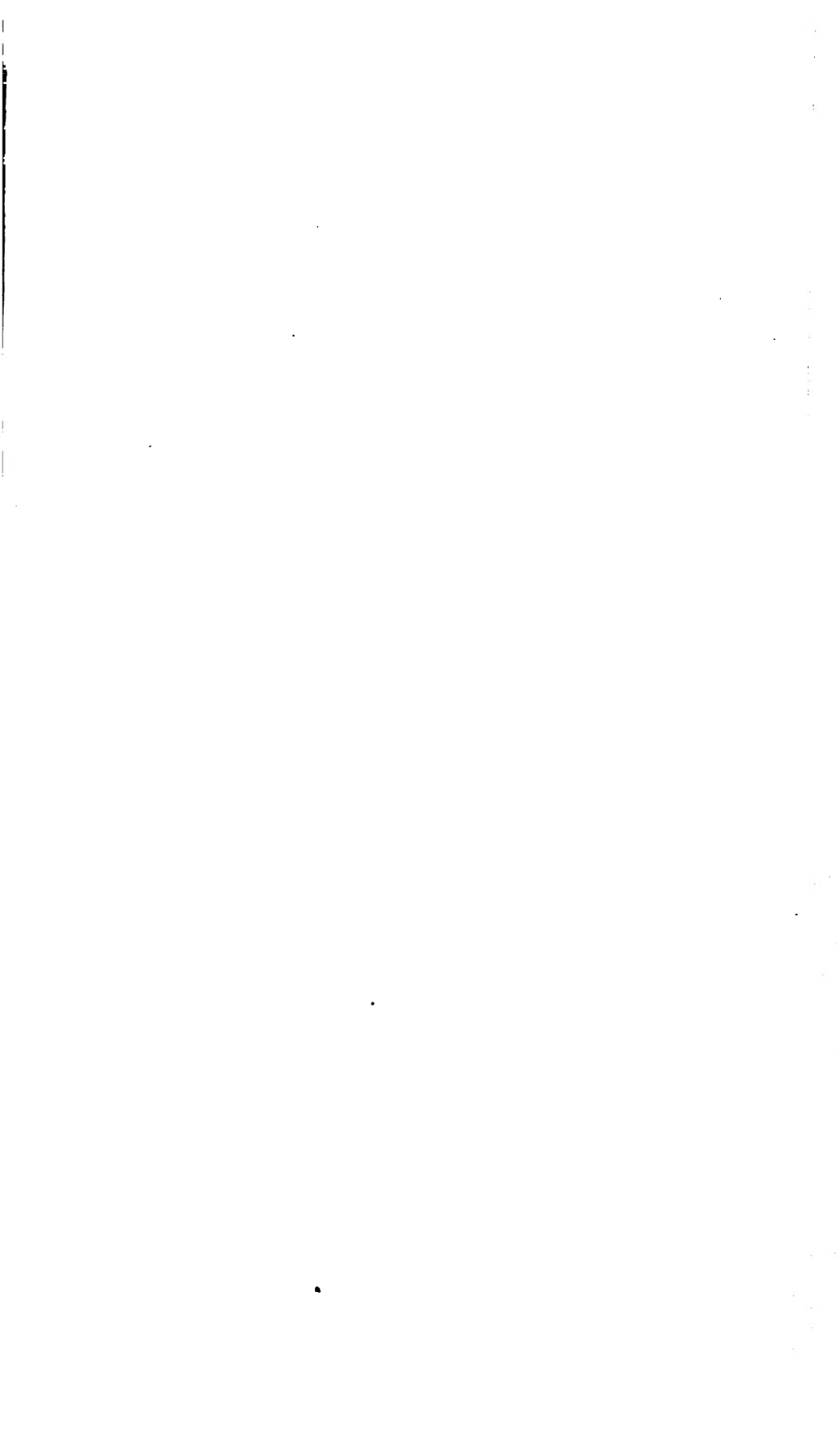
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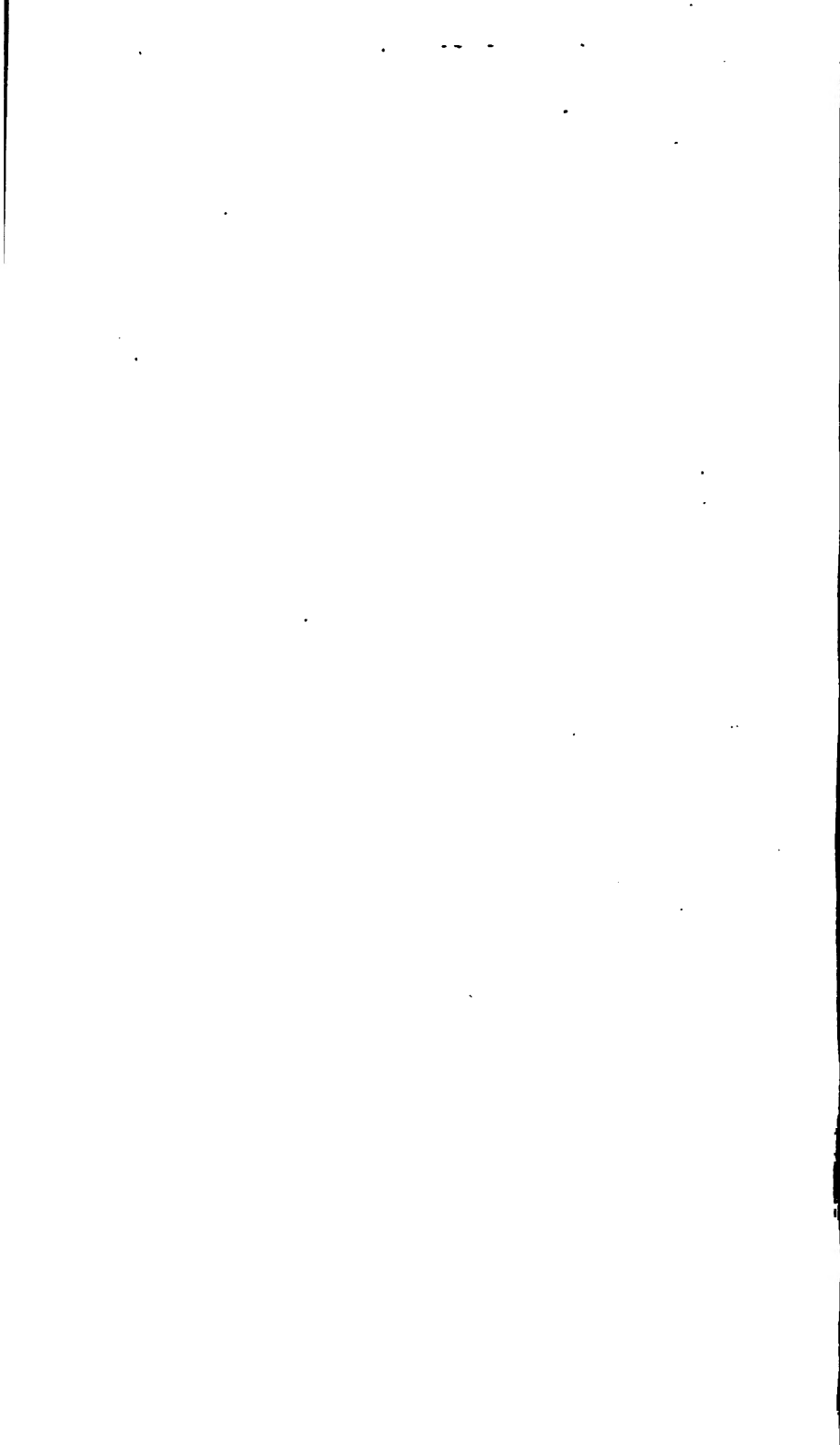


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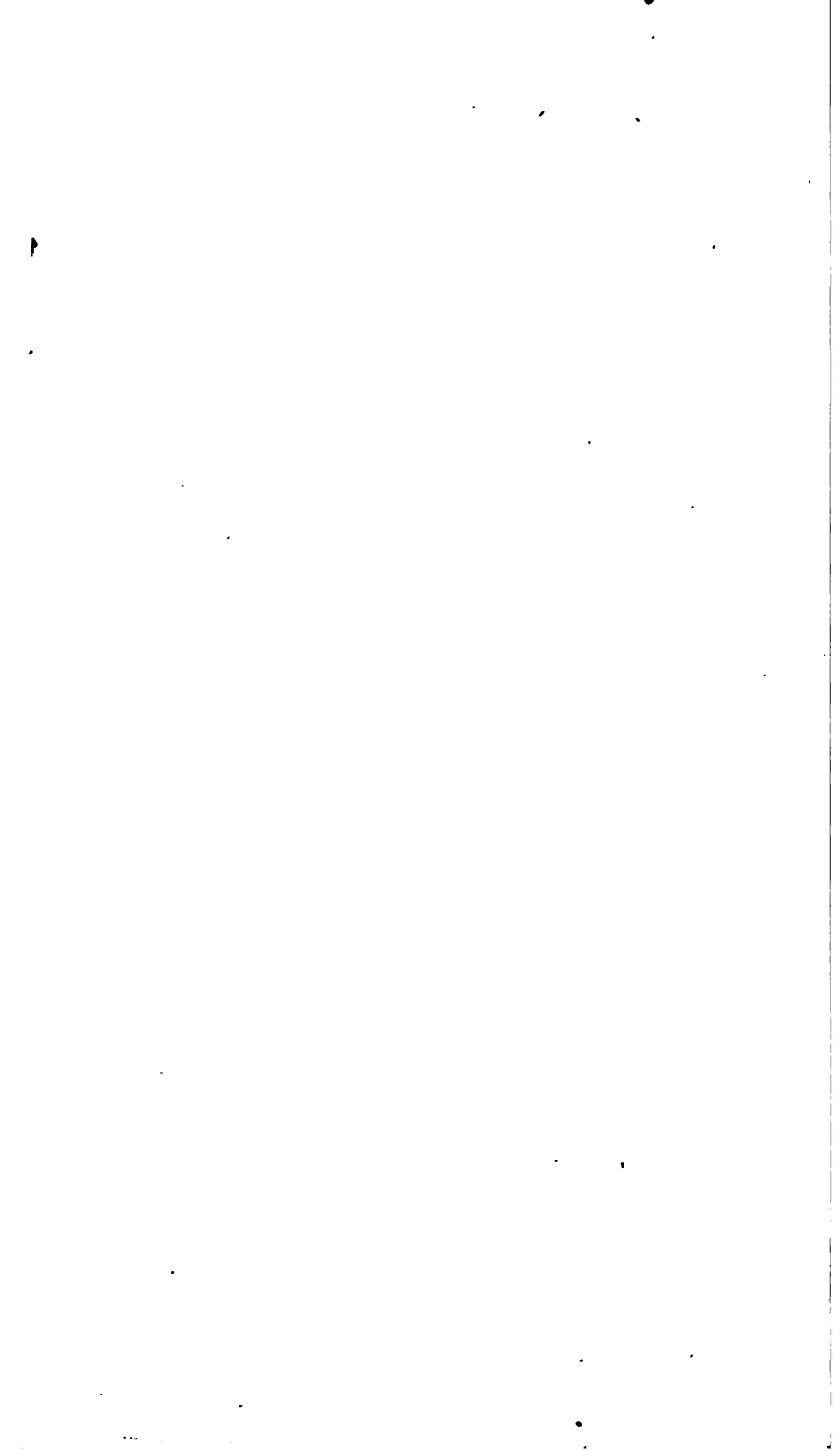


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H. H. H.



HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES,
TO THE
ERA OF THE ABOLITION
OF THE
HEREDITARY JURISDICTIONS
OF
SUBJECTS,
IN THE YEAR 1748.

BY ROBERT HERON.

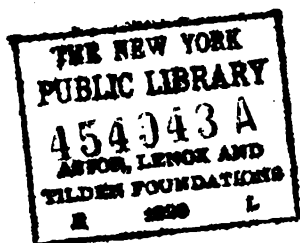
VOLUME IV.

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THE *Fourth Volume* of the GENERAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, is presented to the Public, with very great anxiety on the part of its Author. It embraces the history of the National Transactions of the Scots, during that important period, which extends—from the æra of the Death of James the Third,—to that of the Accession of his descendant, James the Sixth, to the English Throne. Wars, Negotiations, Intrigues, Revolutions, and every variety of those great events which make National History interesting, occur, in the course of this period, in a remarkable profusion. It has been illustrated by the writings of our most eminent Historians. It has deservedly attracted and fixed the curiosity of every liberal and inquisitive mind.

ALTHOUGH a stranger to the influence of any whimsical passion for *novelty* or *singularity*; I have found myself compelled, in investigating this period of the Scottish History, to adopt views of the *principles*, the *passions*, and the *combinations* of events, which it presents,—such as differ, almost continually, from those of former Historians. Venerating, with the profoundest reverence, the illustrious talents of the late Great Dr ROBERTSON,—*the* EPAMINONDAS, *perhaps*, of *Scottish Literature*; I should have been far prouder, implicitly to follow his footsteps,—than I can ever be, to walk in any new path of my own making. But, *sic amicus Plato, magis amica veritas*. Respecting, too, the powerful talents, as well as the patriotic and truly historical industry of Mr PINKERTON;

I cannot but greatly regret, that his excellent Work lately published, should have contributed more to throw new light on *many particulars*, here and there, in *the minuter detail of the History*,—than to exhibit the *general spirit and system* of the National Transactions of the Scots, during those reigns of which he writes, in their proper point of view. I have been obliged, in too many instances, to differ from him. I differ from him, with hesitation, with reluctance, with deference, with respect. Of the other writers who have employed their talents upon the same portion of the Scottish History, I wish not to insinuate any thing that does not imply a like regard. There is none of them whom I should not have rejoiced to follow as my guide. There is none whose opinions I am inclined to reject with contempt. None from whom I differ, for any other reason, than because TRUTH appears strongly and urgently to demand it.

I REGRET, that I could not view the conduct and principles of the Leaders of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland in a more favourable light. I should be concerned, if I were to become the object of any good Puritan's indignation, because I cannot think Cardinal Beaton to have been *a very Devil*. But, I am not ill pleased to have *discovered*, that the Reformation of the Romish Religion arose from among the Romish Clergy themselves: for I have long thought, that our Atheistical Historians meant no good to religion of any sort, when they joined the hottest-headed Protestants, in raising such a villainous outcry against the Romish Clergy, as the worst part of society, during the dark ages.

It was with extreme uneasiness, that I found myself obliged to consider the lovely and hapless QUEEN MARY, as an accomplice in the murder of her husband. To the influence of those motives of gallantry, which have excited some eloquent writers to profess themselves the advocates of her innocence, I am perhaps not more insensible, than even her most passionate admirers. Nay, I shall own, that ever since I saw *Bartolozzi's* fine engraving of her, *from a coin*, which is prefixed to *Dr G. STUART's* History, I have actually been as much in love with her, as it is possible for one to be in love with a BEAUTY who died more than two hundred years since. Nor should I be able to view, without tender emotion, any set of female features that should wear the same air and aspect, and should be set off by a head-dress in the same fashion. Yet, after all this, it were too ridiculous to suffer considerations of gallantry towards a woman who has long since been in the same state in which *Shakespeare* makes HAMLET, in the *grave-digger's* scene, contemplate Cæsar and Alexander;—it were too ridiculous—to suffer gallantry towards a person in this situation, to vitiate the truth of History. This, however, and upon such motives, is what has been done by all Mary's late advocates. I am willing to allow, that in either gallantry or intellect, I have the misfortune to differ exceedingly from them.

HAVING found the *references of quotation* of all our Historians, without exception, to be so inaccurate, that they rarely direct the reader rightly to the authority to which they refer: I have still persisted, in this Volume,

in simply marking at the bottom of my pages, the names of the principal *original* Historians, which the reader ought to read throughout, and to compare with one another, in order to judge of my historical veracity: Reserving it to myself to give, in the Fifth Volume, an *accurate characterising List*, of all the different sources of information, by which my researches and my narrative have been enlightened.

It is not necessary for me to say more in this place. I shall only add,—*If one general principle, if one particular SENTIMENT, if even but one REPRESENTATION of facts, have been admitted into THIS, or any FORMER Volume of this History,—that has not appeared to the Writer to be adapted to promote the true interests of PIETY, VIRTUE, and TRUTH;—may the RIGHT-HAND that wrote it be for ever WITHERED!—may the Beneficence of the All-bounteous GOD OF NATURE, be withdrawn for ever from the SOUL, that has conceived it!*

EDINBURGH, }
 April 20. 1798. }

ROBERT HERON.

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OF

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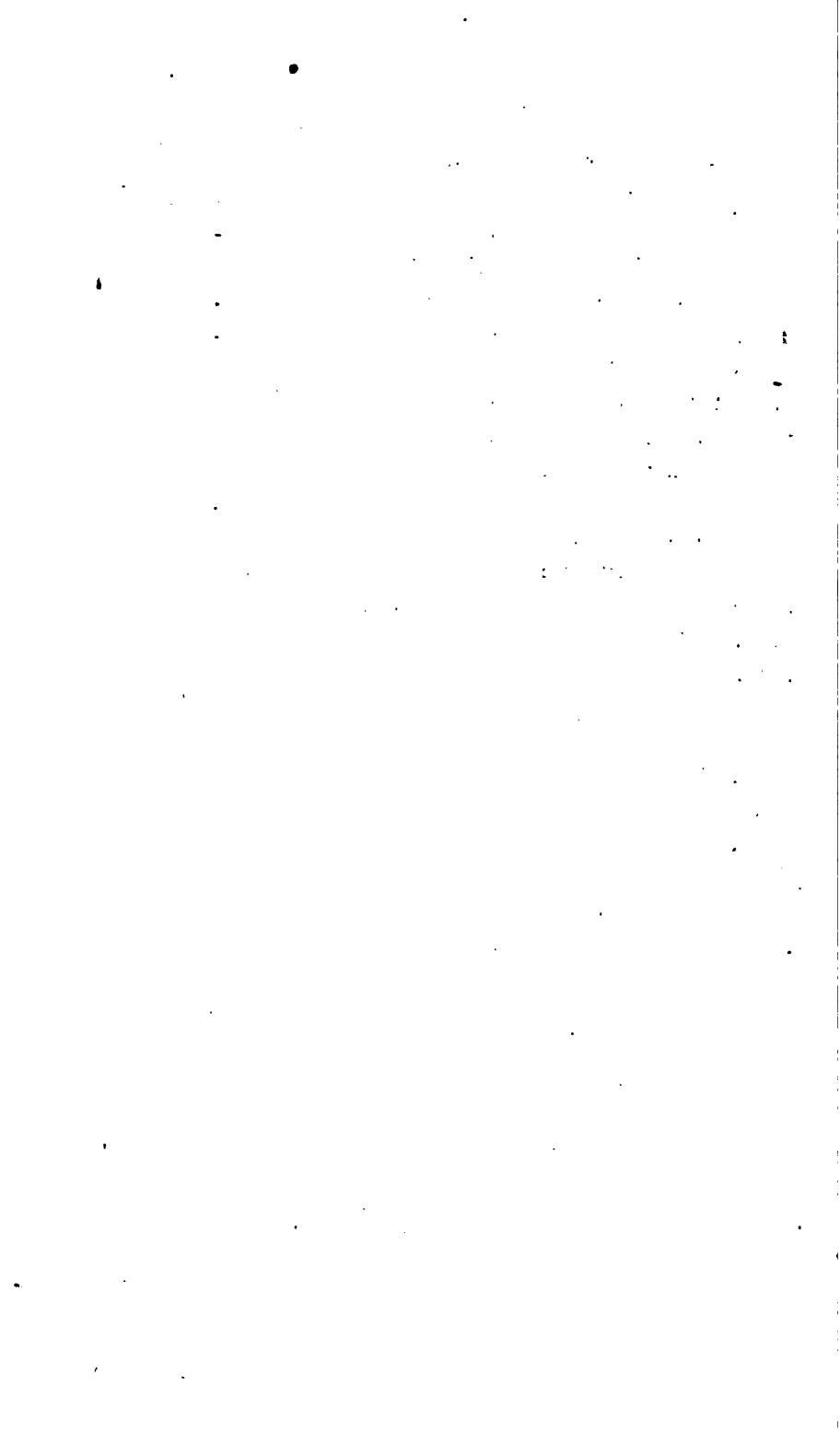
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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

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JAMES, the eldest son of the murdered Monarch, had been already proclaimed King by the rebellious Douglasses, Humes, and Hepburns, with their adherents. From the field at Torwood, he was immediately carried backward by his conductors to Linlithgow; where they rested for some days in anxious suspense, uncertain, whether their late Sovereign might not have escaped alive from the battle; almost terrified at the idea of their own victory; almost willing to risk the danger of James's escape, revenge, and final success against them, if they might but be cleared from the guilt of having been his murderers. As others continued to come in, however, and none could affirm, that the Monarch, against whom they had fought, was still alive; they began gradually to familiarize themselves to the idea of his death, and to conceive a

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First measures of the victorious party.

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new joy in the success of their rebellion.—Yet, it was still supposed, that James might have taken refuge with Sir Andrew Wood, who hovered with his ships in the Frith, for some days before and after the battle, and who was still unshaken in his fidelity to his Sovereign. But, to their inquiries, Wood replied with indignant grief, that his Sovereign was not with him; uttering, at the same time, the most furious threats and execrations against the traitors by whom so foul a regicide had been conspired and perpetrated.—Satisfied at length that James the Third was no more; and believing that the nation must, of course, submit to the government of his son who was in their hands; they then conducted the young King to Edinburgh, and there convoking a Parliament, proceeded to settle the government at their pleasure.—Whatever grants had been made by the late King, since the beginning of the rebellion, were in that Parliament solemnly revoked. The opposition of James to his rebellious subjects was declared treasonable. A precedent of insurrection was sanctioned by the legislature. They who had preferred their duty to their Sovereign to all baser and more selfish respects, were branded as traitors worthy of condign punishment, and escaping only by the clemency of their young Prince*.

BUT, many of those who fought at Torwood, on the

* Lindsay; Lesly; Skene's Acts.

the side of James the Third, having by this time returned into those parts of the kingdom to which they respectively belonged ; their hearts burning with loyal indignation, and a desire of revenge ; had begun without delay to muster a new force ; that they might yet rescue the young King from the hands of his father's murderers, and might bring those guilty barons to undergo the punishment due to treason. In the north, Forbes, carrying on the point of a spear, the bloody shirt which he said the King had worn when he was slain, excited the clans to descend with one accord, and execute vengeance upon the traitors. In the west, the Earl of Lennox mustered his vassals and marched to join the army which was assembling in the north. Sir Andrew Wood, too, still retained his former purposes of vengeance, and was ready to take part with those who resolved to rescue the son out of the hands of that faction who had destroyed the father.—But, this faction was already exalted above the ignominy of the name, and was established too firmly to be overthrown by its opponents.—Nay, the exertions of those who prepared to avenge the murder of the late King, were rather the transports of blind inconsiderate rage, than the prudently concerted measures of a powerful and not unwise party.—Lennox betrayed by Macalpin, one of his own followers, was, by night, surprised by Drummond of Strathern at Tilly-moss : To

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Efforts to
avenge
the death
of James
III. sup-
pressed.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

surprise enemies thus, was almost infallibly to route them : many of Lennox's followers were slain without resistance ; the rest were entirely dispersed in flight, so that they could not be again re-assembled.—In the north, the Gordons and Forbeses, already less furious in their resentment, and not successful to their wishes in mustering a new army ; were induced, upon the news of Lennox's defeat, first to slacken their preparations, and afterwards to yield to a proffered reconciliation with their adversaries.—Wood, too, being a man no less of prudence than of loyalty, considered that young James was now of right his Sovereign ; and was therefore induced rather to forego his revenge, than to rebel, himself, against the Throne, or to lend his aid to harass the nation farther by the miseries of civil war. The other barons who had at first followed James the Third, were already all reconciled to the government of his son. Some acts of grace, and a distribution of favours, were employed to perfect and confirm the general reconciliation. A general amnesty was accepted by those who had espoused the cause of the father : The authority of the government remained with them who had disguised their own guilty ambition under the pretext of attachment to the interests of the son *.

In the mean time, the truce with England was
at

* Lindsay : Lesly : Buchanan.

at an end; and some English vessels, powerfully manned, came to ravage the coasts, and intercept the trading ships of the Scots.—Had not Wood been reconciled to the new government, it would have been impossible for young James and his ministers to equip a naval force sufficient for the protection of their shores from ravage and insult: Bartyné an eminent shipmaster at Leith, and others, were in vain requested to sail, and clear the Frith of the enemy; who way-laid and captured many as well of the Scottish trading vessels, as of the Flemish ships which traded to the Scottish ports. But to Sir Andrew Wood, no more grateful undertaking could have been proposed. Whatever additional men, artillery, or other equipment, were wanted for the complete fitting out of his two ships, the *Yellow Carnal* and the *Flower*; these were eagerly furnished to him. He sailed out, and came up with the English fleet, which consisted of five ships, at the entrance of the Frith, over-against the castle of Dunbar. A long obstinate sea-fight ensued. Wood at last prevailed; captured all the English ships; and conducted them to Leith in triumph.—This first signal naval victory obtained by the Scots, the first successful action of the new reign, against foreign foes, was extremely grateful to the young King and his nobles. Wood was honoured and rewarded with a generosity not unworthy of his honest fidelity and gallant

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Sea-fight
with the
English.

SECT. I. lant valour.—The English however soon fitted out
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another fleet again to harass the Scottish coasts, and to avenge the disaster they had thus suffered at sea. Stephen Bull, one of the most distinguished seamen belonging to the English ports, was the commander of the fleet: It consisted of three large ships, powerfully manned, and in all respects suitably equipped for combat. Near the Isle of May, they awaited the approach of Wood, who was now returning with his fleet from the coast of Flanders. The fishermen's boats in the mean time were in great numbers captured by those English. Wood, with his ships, at last appeared. The English commander and his crews saw him come on, with that exulting joy which is natural to brave men when they see a glorious occasion near, of risking their lives for their King and country. Sir Andrew Wood, although taken somewhat by surprise, beheld their hostile ships with no less satisfaction. In either fleet, the gunners charged their artillery; the men who were armed with cross-bows, made themselves ready; pots of lime and fire-balls were prepared to be thrown from the top-masts, and great, two-handed swords were made ready in the fore-rooms. The morning sun shone bright upon the meeting fleets. The Scots sailed close up, on the windward of the English; and the fight began. All day, it was prolonged with every exertion on either side;

Wood and his crews mindful of their own former glory; the English prompted by emulation, resentment, and innate valour. From the shore, the contest was eagerly beheld by crowds of men, women, children, interested for the Scots, little less earnestly than if they had been themselves in the midst of the fight. Night for a time parted the combatants: But, with the return of morn, they renewed their engagement. While they continued to fight with unsated rage, with unwearied valour; the wind and tide conveyed both fleets to Inchcap, at the mouth of the Tay. Here Sir Andrew Wood and his men, seeing the English ships brought into a situation from which they could not be easily carried off; and seeing Bull and his sailors to be incapable of much longer resistance; redoubled their efforts, and soon succeeded, so as to take the English captain with his ships, and all his surviving mariners.—The captives with their shattered vessels were carried into Dundee; and there the dead were buried; and due care was taken of the wounded. But, since it was but incidentally, and chiefly in consequence of their connections with the Flemings, that the Scots had been exposed to these naval hostilities from the English; James, satisfied with the protection of his coasts and commerce, and with the glory acquired by his small navy, declined the farther prosecution of the war which had been thus begun. With the generous

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SECT. I. generous magnanimity becoming a great Prince,
 CHAP IV. he instantly set Bull and the survivors of his crews
 at liberty, without ransom; honoured them with
 liberal presents; and sent them home in their own
 ships, with a gay message to the English King.
 Sir Andrew Wood was again splendidly rewarded;
 and was henceforth esteemed by James as
 one of his truest and most gallant servants*.

First acts
 of the
 young
 King.

It was fortunate for James and for his kingdom, that, at the time when he was prematurely exalted by the rebellious barons to sit on his father's throne; he had however attained much nearer to the age of manhood than had either his grandfather or his father when they respectively succeeded to the crown. At the age of fifteen, he was no longer liable to be made merely the property of any regent or tutor. Even that division of the Scottish barons into two parties, which had taken place in the contest in which James the Third perished; proved advantageous to the tranquillity of the son's reign, and to the efficacy of his power. That part of the nobility who had taken part with the young Monarch's father, could not be unacceptable to him after the contest was over, for a conduct which promised equal fidelity to himself, since he was now their undoubted Sovereign; nor was it natural for those who fought in defence of the father, to prove disloyal to the son,

* Lindsay, p. 157, &c.

son, when his father was now no more. Again, SECT. I.
CHAP. IV. they who had set James upon the throne, were not likely to desert abruptly the Monarch of their choice, and thus to forfeit all the advantages which their success had bestowed: Nor could James himself suddenly put on the guise of ingratitude, and set himself at variance with those who had been the first to honour and exalt him. Besides, the young King, whose education had probably been neglected by his recluse father, had none of that love for bookish solitude, or of that aversion from the bold, manly exercises and arts, by which his father had been, first, rendered unfit for the active business of government. He was fond of war, of the tournament, of the chase. He delighted to mingle in active life, and therefore could not fail to acquire that useful common sense which nothing but the experience of common life can bestow. With all these advantages to augur prosperity to his reign, James seemed to proceed in the government of his kingdom, with the fairest hopes of felicity, both to his subjects and to himself. Henry the Seventh of England, pacific by nature, and as yet unsettled on his throne, was disposed rather to renew from time to time that truce which he had made with James's father, than to rekindle the ancient warfare by which the English had long struggled to achieve

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1540.

SECT. I. the conquest of Scotland. On all other sides, the
 CHAP. IV. Scots had nought to fear from foreign foes *.

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Progress
 of his go-
 vernment;
 and farther
 account of
 his private
 manners.

IN these circumstances, James, by his ambassa-
 dors, announced to all the neighbouring Princes
 with whom the Scots had been wont to keep up an
 amicable intercourse, the news of his succession
 upon his father's throne; without declaring that
 guilt of himself and his barons, by which this event
 had been unhappily hastened. By the same em-
 bassies, too, he directed inquiries to be made after
 a Princess who might be worthy to share his bed
 and his throne.—His mother, as well as his
 youngest brother, the Earl of Marre, had died,
 without surviving to witness and to deplore the
 miserable end of his father. His brother Alexan-
 der, however; who had been created Duke of Ross,
 when, upon the forfeiture of Macdonald, the earl-
 dom of Ross had fallen into the immediate posses-
 sion of the Crown; still survived, and was now
 educated by James, with the kindest fraternal
 care. New acts were instituted for the encou-
 ragement of the fisheries; the burghs were enjoined
 to fit out boats; merchants possessed of wealth
 were encouraged to risk a part of it in this species
 of naval adventure; even the King himself and
 his barons were induced to become partners in
 adventures for the herring-fishery. A law at
 once evincing the progress of knowledge, and
 tending

* Lindsay : Lesly : Bacon's Henry the Seventh, &c.

tending eminently to advance it farther ; enjoined that every Lord of a barony should educate at least one of his sons, in literature and in the laws. James, more active in the cares of government, than to confide the administration of justice in the remote parts of his kingdom, to the hands of the sheriffs and justiciaries ; made frequent progresses in person, through the different counties, and exercised his power, at once with an energy and a moderation, well fitted to give efficacy to the laws, and to make his subjects happy. Nor did he, in the mean time, while his marriage with a foreign Princess was delayed, always avoid those excesses in pleasureable indulgence, and those violations of chastity, which, although his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, had escaped them, were naturally incident to his youth, his high fortune, and the gallantry of his disposition. Sometimes, James would, with amorous or with politic purpose, disguise himself in the humble garb of a beggar, or some other mean person, and pass unknown through the land ; inquiring into the conduct of his officers, and listening to the opinions even of the lowest of the people concerning the character of their King. Above all, the diversions of the tournament, that mimic representation of war, were singularly agreeable to the magnificence of his taste, and to the generous gallantry of his spirit.—The fame of his passion for these sports be-

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came known throughout Europe ; and from all lands resorted knights, who desired to distinguish their prowess in arms, at the Scottish court. In every knightly art, James himself excelled almost every other young man of the age. In all the exercises of the tournament, he himself, or some of his native subjects, usually came off the victors *.

AMIDST this diligent exercise of the duties of a great Monarch ; this generous pursuit of such amusements alone as became a Monarch's dignity ; and this cultivation of such habits, as were suitable for the Sovereign of a bold, martial, and unpolished people : James was addressed by a suppliant whose cause, whose character, and whose requests were, to make a decisive trial of the political discernment, the knightly generosity, and the martial ardour, of this young Sovereign of the Scots.

State of
the policy
of Europe.

DURING all the last century, especially, the nations of Europe had begun to become continually more connected with each other by the ties of civil and political intercourse, by the bonds of political combination, by means of that relative stability or uncertainty of national existence which taught them to adopt certain fixed principles of policy in respect to the powers and purposes of one

one another, and to form themselves into one system, of which one part could not be maintained in that place in which it was best for the good of the whole that it should remain,—without being nicely counterpoised by the others.—Scotland, remote from the centre of this system, and relatively of small magnitude, might not yet perhaps have been comprehended within it ; had it not been for its close vicinity to England, and for the important influence which the English had long exercised upon the fate of the continent. But, being thus brought within the sphere of the general policy of the great states of the middle and south of Europe ; the Scots had by it, perhaps, been already saved from being subjugated by their more powerful and not less warlike neighbours : And as the great states of Europe, acquiring still more and more of vigorous internal organization, became continually more sensible to external and reciprocal action and re-action upon one another ; the Scots were drawn still more into the same vortex, and were compelled to revolve round within the same system. The weak and unfortunate administration of Henry the Sixth, the long intestine wars which lacerated the very heart of England, while the right to its throne was contested between the houses of York and Lancaster ; had indeed reduced the English to suffer all their continental possessions to be wrested from them ;

and

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1520.

and might seem to have, by consequence, detached them from all future concern in the politics of the continent. But the connection which had so long subsisted, was not to be thus easily dissolved. The English nation were still inclined to pursue their ancient enmity against the French :— the French, and the other inhabitants of the opposite shores of the continent, were still disposed to connect their interests with those of the English, or to oppose them to them : The growing rivalry between France, Spain, and Austria, and those contests of ambition, of which Italy was to be the theatre, were to present continually new reasons to induce them to recall to the continent, the attention of the English and the Scots : While the intestine dissensions, and jealousies of the English themselves, and the inveterate hostility between the Scots and English, afforded, on the other hand, to the Sovereigns of the continent, frequent occasions for interposing, to embroil the internal affairs of England, and to strike out, from time to time, new sparks of warfare between the two British nations.

It was in consequence of the existence of this state of the politics of Europe, that a young adventurer, sent to disturb the government of England, was now thrown upon James's care, and was as if he had come to bring to proof the generosity,

PERKIN
WAR-
BECK.

generosity, courage, and prudence, of the young Scottish Monarch. This adventurer was PERKIN

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

WARBECK, who had been trained by the Dukes of Burgundy, the sister of Edward the Fourth of England, to pretend that he was the son

A. D.
1488 to
1540.

of that King, and thus to excite a civil war, to dethrone Henry the Seventh, who now sat upon the English throne. *Warbeck*, tutored by the Dukes of Burgundy, was well qualified for the imposture he had undertaken to act. Neither in gracefulness and dignity of personal appearance, in elegant accomplishments, in courage, nor in prudence, did he appear unworthy of being the son of a King. He came recommended from the Dukes of Burgundy, and from the King of France, to the Scottish Sovereign; the Dukes being unwilling to suffer one who valued himself as the representative of the house of Lancaster, to enjoy the English throne in peace; the King of France being desirous to excite to Henry, domestic troubles, which might detain him from any invasion of France. James received the young pretender with all the respect due to high birth, merit, and misfortune. *Warbeck's* personal qualities failed not to attach James still more warmly to his cause. He was honourably entertained in the Scottish Court: the daughter of the Earl of Huntly was given him to wife: And James, with the ardent approbation of his nobility, prepared to conduct the pretended

heir

SECT. I. heir to the English crown, into his dominions, and,
 CHAP. IV. in disregard of all his own engagements with
 A. D. Henry, to place *Warbeck* on the throne of him
 1488 to whom he called his father. Already had *War-*
 1520. *beck* failed in different attempts in Ireland, and in
 England: Yet, with aid so powerful as that of
 the Scottish nation and their King, it was hoped
 that he might now at length prove successful *.

Invasion
 of Eng-
 land.

WITH an army numerous, ardent, and well appointed, as those which had been anciently led by Wallace, Bruce, and the Douglasses; James entered Northumberland, and advanced onward without meeting any formidable opposition, but without being received with any thing of that favour of the English with which Warbeck had expected them to rise and espouse his cause. Disappointed therefore in those expectations of aid from the English themselves, which Warbeck had taught them to conceive; James and the Scots, after wasting the open country,—upon receiving intelligence that a powerful English army was approaching,—relinquished the expedition, and returned home. But, they had not long returned, when the news of a rebellion broken out against Henry, from Cornwall, invited them to renew the invasion with better hopes. With an host numerous as before, James again entered England; proceeded into the bishoprick of Durham; and while he sent out

* Lindsay : Drummond : Bacon's Henry the Seventh ; Hollinshed.

out parties of light horsemen to plunder the surrounding country; himself, with the principal body of his army, laid siege to the castle of Northam. But, Northam-castle, by the care of Bishop Fox, was well garrisoned, and abundantly supplied with provisions and military stores; while the Scottish army wanted the artillery requisite for the siege.—James would, however, have persisted in his purpose, and might perhaps have in the end succeeded, had not the Earl of Surrey, in the mean time, advanced with an English army, so formidable, that the Scots were in prudence obliged to raise the siege, and retire into their own country, before the English should come up with them.—Surrey, with this army, and almost all the English nobility of the northern counties, followed after.—While James with his forces were little more than a mile distant, Surrey assaulted and took the castle of Ayton. Some challenges to a general battle, as well as to single combat, passed between the respective commanders of the two hosts. But James, whatever his gallantry, had sufficient prudence not to risk an engagement, which was not absolutely necessary to the safety of his country, and of which the issue might seem doubtful. The Scots adhered to their wonted policy; and retired before the English, till these having consumed their stores, could no longer either advance or maintain their ground in Scotland; but were obliged to re-

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1510.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

treat back to Berwick, in almost the same confusion and distress, as if they had sustained a defeat.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

The castle of Jedburgh had been levelled to the ground by Robert of Albany ; that of Roxburgh, when it was taken, after the death of James the Second : There was no contiguous strong place which the English might have seized and garrisoned : To Edinburgh or Stirling they could not make their way. There was no lasting mischief, therefore, inflicted upon the Scots by this inroad : Berwick had remained with the English, ever since it was surrendered by the Duke of Albany, in the reign of James the Third *.

HENRY, therefore, disappointed in whatever hopes he might have conceived of reducing the Scots to listen with submission to his pleasure, and to accept whatever terms of peace he should think fit ; was forced to have recourse to the arts of negotiation, in order to drive his fictitious rival, *Warbeck*, from that sanctuary which he still found in the Scottish Court. Peter Hialas, ambassador from the Spanish King, came at Henry's request into Scotland, and in his own Sovereign's name, proposed to mediate a truce or peace between James and Henry.—His mediation was accepted. The dismissal of *Warbeck* was the price at which the amity of Henry was purchased on the part of James.—Nor was this a sacrifice which the Scottish

Peace concluded between the Scots and the English.

* Hollinshed, III. : Lindsay ; Lesly : Buchannan, &c.

tish King could now feel a strong reluctance to make. All his efforts in favour of the young impostor, had proved unsuccessful : all those gay prospects which Warbeck had held out, to induce James to espouse his cause, had been frustrated : James himself could not longer withstand the conviction of Warbeck's imposture : And yet honour would not allow him to desert, for a less important cause than the welfare of his kingdom, the interests of a young man who had thrown himself, with seeming honour, upon his hospitality and protection. James, however, even dismissing Warbeck, acted towards him no ungenerous part. He would not deliver him up into Henry's hand ; he would not cast him out in disgrace, as a base impostor and fugitive. Providing vessels for his passage, he sent him away, with the same respectful farewell, as if he had been still a Prince, and suffered him to pass freely over into Henry's dominions in Ireland. Warbeck, after some short stay among the Irish, passed over into Cornwall, and in a vain attempt to win the English crown by the aid of the Cornish miners, fell into Henry's hands ; by whom, after some delay in contemptuous mercy, and some attempts at intrigue on the part of Warbeck, this fictitious Prince was at last put to death. His imposture had been before detected, and convincingly exposed by Henry's care to undeceive such of his

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1483 to
1520.

SECT. I. subjects and neighbours, as might have actually
 CHAP. IV. supposed, that in countenancing and supporting
 A. D. Warbeck, they gave their countenance and sup-
 1488 to port to the son and only true heir of Edward the
 1520. Fourth*.

Incidental
 circum-
 stances.

JAMES, undisturbed in his government by these and other such transactions in his intercourse with foreigners; still continued to rule his kingdom in a manner sufficiently grateful to his barons, yet which did not derogate from the majesty of the throne, or sacrifice any of its lawful authority. The Drummonds having, in the prosecution of one of those feuds which frequently arose among the Scottish clans, burnt to death sixteen of the Murrays in the parish-church of Monivaird; were speedily overtaken by the severe vengeance of James, and punished with the unforgiving firmness of purpose, which was necessary to repress such barbarities. At the request, probably of some weak-witted doctor in theology, James was induced to try the experiment of confining two infants under the care of a dumb woman, in the isle of Inchkeith, in order to discover in what language they would naturally converse, when thus deprived of all opportunity of acquiring the use of any artificial speech; It does not appear that the result of the experiment turned so out,

as

* Eofdem.

as to give much satisfaction to those by whom it had been suggested. Stewart, the brother of the Earl of Lennox, in the mean time covered the Scottish name with new glory in military affairs, while he distinguished himself with extraordinary prudence and heroism, in the wars by which the French strove to win the dominion of Italy, and was even for a time exalted to the viceroyalty of Naples. From that station he was driven away, by those misfortunes which expelled the French from their Italian conquests. He afterwards returned home to Scotland, was honourably received at James's Court, and breathed his last in peace at Corstorphine. Andrew Forman, too, Bishop of Moray, being also abroad, in the Court of Pope Julius the Second, made himself acceptable to that Pontiff, by various important services,—particularly by negotiating a peace between Julius and the French King; and was amply rewarded by a bishopric in France, by a seat in the Sacred College of Cardinals, and by the office of Legate, with which he returned, with vicarious sway, to rule the Scottish church.—A monstrous child was, within this period, born in Scotland, which from the loins upwards, had two bodies in all respects perfect; but from the loins downward, but the parts of one: It possessed two different thinking powers of sensibility and thought: After surviving to the age of twenty-eight years, it died in
extreme

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

SECT. I. extreme distress, occasioned particularly by the
 CHAP. IV. death of one of its bodies before the other *.

A. D.

1488 to

1510.

Marriage
 of James
 with the
 daughter
 of Henry
 the Se-
 venth.

ALTHOUGH still unmarried; and although he had not refrained from some of those indulgencies which tend to make young men sometimes averse from subjecting themselves to the bonds of conjugal life; yet James was not insensible that his duty to his people required him to leave lawful heirs, if possible, to inherit his crown; and it was rather the want of a Princess at the neighbouring Courts, who might become his wife, than any settled aversion to marriage, that had held him hitherto a bachelor. The daughter of Henry the Seventh of England was now marriageable. James seized a suitable occasion to ask her for his bride. He was not denied. No young Monarch of the age had a higher or fairer reputation than James: there was none whose alliance it more imported the English King to obtain, because there was none whose subjects and dominions were so advantageously situate for harassing England with continual hostilities, and thus disturbing that peace which Henry delighted to cultivate. Henry, the richest Monarch in Europe, at least in ready money, bestowed upon James, with the hand of his daughter, the Princess Margaret, an ample dowry; and within a few days after the marriage of Prince Arthur of England

* Lindsay of Pittscottie: Lesly: Buchanan.

England with Catharine of Arragon, Margaret was nominally espoused to James of Scotland, in the cathedral church of St Paul's, in the city of London. Henry himself accompanied his daughter a good way on her journey. The Earls of Surrey and Northumberland, with a numerous attendance of other noblemen and ladies from England, came in her train. At a church in Lammermuir, the marriage was solemnly celebrated between James in person and the young English Princess. He then conducted her to Edinburgh, where the marriage was consummated; and a long train of shows and festivities did honour to the happy occasion which gave to James a fair partner of his throne and bed, to the Scots and English, the hopes of more lasting, mutual peace, than they had for a long while enjoyed *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

THESE hopes were not immediately frustrated. For a while, there arose nothing to renew those wars which this happy marriage had been intended for ever to terminate. James, happy in the endearments of conjugal love, continued to cultivate with increasing diligence and ardour, those arts in which the Monarchs of Europe were, in this age, beginning partly to repose their glory. He beautified Falkland with new buildings, sumptuous and magnificent beyond what the state of the

* Lindsay: Lesly: Buchanan.

SECT. I. the arts in Scotland, beyond what its opulence
 CHAP. IV. could have been in this age expected to afford.

A. D. All Europe had about this æra turned its attention
 1488 to maritime affairs. The discoveries made by the
 1520. Florentines, the Genoese, the Venetians from
 Italy, by the Portuguese, and by the Spaniards,
 with the wealth which those discoveries soon conferred, excited an enthusiasm for the adventures
 of navigation, little less ardent than that passion
 with which the people of Europe had, two
 centuries before, assumed the cross, and hasten-
 ed away to conquer the Holy Land. Even in
 Scotland was this spirit kindled. The com-
 merce and the fishing industry of the Scots, were
 already considerable. James's father had possessed
 some vessels, which might, in this age, be re-
 garded as forming no contemptible fleet. He
 himself, in consequence of the successes which had
 crowned his arms at sea, was encouraged to pay
 yet more attention than his father to naval affairs.
 The fishing-trade of the Scots needed the protec-
 tion of ships of war: And Sir Andrew Wood,
 distinguished above his contemporaries, alike for
 naval skill and for courage, was ready at once to ex-
 cite James to extraordinary attention to maritime
 power, and to command his fleets, and superintend
 his ship-building. He built therefore three ships
 of extraordinary bulk, the Michael, the Marga-
 ret, and the James; fitted them out with great
 guns,

Scottish
 navy.

guns, and all the requisite stores and implements of war, and manned them with numerous and hardy crews for the purpose of navigating them; who were, besides, to receive on board such numbers of soldiers as should compose a formidable military force, whenever there should arise occasion to employ them in war. The Scottish fishing and merchant-vessels were secure under their protection. The Dutch, in consequence probably of quarrels while the sailors of both nations were employed together in the fishery, declaring war at sea against the Scots, and capturing and destroying many of their vessels; suffered more than equal retaliation of the ills which they had inflicted; for James dispatched his fleet to hover upon their coasts, and intercept their traffic, till they made compensation for the injuries by which they had provoked his resentment. The Portuguese, now powerful above all the other nations of the south, in the Mediterranean sea, and in the Atlantic ocean, for an injury formerly committed at sea against the father of the gallant Bartons, shipmasters of Leith, were attacked and harassed by the Bartons, under the protection of letters of marque granted by James, till many times the value of what they had formerly robbed the Scots of, was by force pillaged from their rich merchant-vessels. Even the English setting themselves again at variance with the Scots at sea, were again pursued,

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A.D.
1488 to
1520.

Quarrel
with the
Portu-
guese.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1468 to
1520.

fued, and had their ships destroyed by those bold and almost piratical sailors, till the English could hardly venture to expose themselves in the German ocean, or in the northern seas.—The Scottish Queen, too, during the progress of these events, bore to her husband several children ; of whom, after two sons had died in infancy, one at last was destined to survive his father, and to succeed him on the throne. No accidents arose to raise James's nobility in arms against him : Hume was content to administer, as Chamberlain, the affairs of the royal domains upon the border : Bothwell, equally satisfied with the rewards and the impunity he had obtained, grew old, and died, without engaging in any new rebellion : Angus, too, rested in the place which it became him to fill, without aspiring above the bounds of a subject's power, or a subject's duty. Justice was still vigorously administered. The Baron of Thornton having murdered his own wife, was, without respect to his rank or fortune, publicly beheaded at Edinburgh, in punishment for so horrible a crime, violating all the bonds, the endearments, and the securities of the most intimately familiar and domestic life. Other crimes were punished with a rigour equally salutary : The licence, particularly of the borderers, was restrained : Frequent parliaments were assembled, to correct and enlarge the code of the laws ; to confirm continually the authority of law,

in

in opposition to wild, irregular, and desultory force; and to provide for the new exigencies of the times, as these continually arose. Twice did James's piety and conjugal affection move him to go in pilgrimage,—at one time on foot to the shrine of St Ninian, at Whithorn in Galloway; at another on horseback, to St Duthac's, in the shire of Ross.—So extraordinary was the hardy activity to which he had accustomed himself, that he rode in one day from Stirling, by Perth and Aberdeen, as far as to Elgin; a distance of not less than an hundred and thirty miles; and after stretching himself to sleep for a few hours of the night, simply on a bare board, proceeded next morning, by day-break, forty miles farther to St Duthac's, where he was present at the usual hour for divine service.—He neglected not, amid these things, the care of framing such artillery as might be wanted to give his forces due advantage when they should come to face their enemies on the field of battle. His master-gunner, Robert Borthwick, formed for him, in Edinburgh-castle, some cannons of extraordinary magnitude, of which not a few long after remained in the kingdom. New honours were conferred upon him from Rome, by Pope Julius the Second, with the hope probably of detaching the Scots from the ancient alliance with France, to which Julius was at this time

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1485 to
1520.

James's
devotion
and acti-
vity.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

hostile. The Kings of France and England, too, seemed at the same time to vie with one another for James's favour, and to contend, who should the most diligently cultivate his alliance by frequent embassies, by presents, and by every means which they could conceive to be at all acceptable to so gallant and so wise a Prince. Amid those amusements of Chivalry, which he still delighted to encourage at his Court, James himself would not rarely enter the lists, in disguise; and never did he enter the lists, without approving himself victor over every opponent. Amid those feuds, which in spite of all the vigilance and energy of his government, would sometimes break forth, Maxwell of Caerlaverock, and Crichton of Sanguhar, the two most powerful barons of Nithsdale, after long enmity, and many petty injuries mutually inflicted; at length met in arms, with their respective friends and dependents, on the sands of Dumfries; and there fought with the most obstinate rage, till the two parties had almost mutually cut each other off, although Maxwell remained at last the joyless victor. An earthquake shook the whole island; comets blazing in the sky, seemed to the eye of superstition to portend misfortunes to which they had no real reference: That sweating sickness, which, in the beginning of the sixteenth century; made terrible havock in England; extending its ravages also to Scotland, and cutting

Fight on
the sands
of Dum-
fries.

ting off chiefly, the young, the strong, the luxurious, and the gay; hence acquired from the Scottish peasantry the denomination of *Stoop-gallant* *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1540.

The politics of the continent were again to divide James from the interests of that family out of which he had obtained a wife, and to renew the war between the Scots and the English. Italy was the prize for which the Kings of France and Spain compared their relative strengths, and opposed one another in war. Thus opposed, they strove naturally, each for himself, to draw their neighbours and allies into the contest. The politic, the peaceful, the avaricious Henry the Seventh of England, had his hands too full at home, and was too much averse from the waste of war, to take any earnest part in those contentions of his neighbours. But Henry the Seventh was now no more. His kingdoms and his treasures were inherited by his only son Henry the Eighth, who aspired to distinguish himself by lavishing his father's treasures, by involving himself in those splendid pursuits of war and policy which his father had wisely avoided, and by exalting to the absoluteness of despotism, that feudal authority which his father had left him. Henry, flattered with extravagant notions of the immensity of his wealth, of the greatness of his authority and power,

* Lindfay: Lesly: Buchanan.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

power, and of the unrivalled superiority of his personal accomplishments; was destined to pursue through life, plans of policy in respect to his intercourse with foreign nations, which gradually brought contempt and dishonour upon his councils, as upon the people over whom he reigned; as well as to make the English nation continually the victim of his furious temper, and of his private passions, while he himself was to be ever the tool of his mistresses and his courtiers. Henry was to be in government, what a stout yet cowardly swaggerer is in valour; what a weak, talkative man, destitute of tender affections, yet not without furious selfish passions, is in the ordinary conduct of life. In this spirit he was soon persuaded by his father-in-law, Ferdinand King of Spain, to declare war against France, and to attempt the reconquering of those continental provinces which had been conquered and wrested from the English Crown during the unfortunate reign of Henry the Sixth. To strengthen themselves against this new danger from so formidable a foe, the French sent an embassy into Scotland, for the purpose of exciting James to depart from that neutrality which he had resolved to observe between his brother-in-law and the ancient allies of his crown. Forman and Stewart were either the principal ambassadors of this negotiation, or at least came from France to promote its success at the Scottish Court. Both were

were subjects equally of the King of France and of the King of Scotland; and they were both therefore interested to make the influence of the French alliance predominate over that of England, at the Scottish Court. Yet James, assiduously courted even by the high-minded and insolent Henry, and finding himself in a situation in which he was able to hold the balance between France and England; long hesitated between the two rival alliances; long cherished his purpose of maintaining a strict neutrality; and had it not been for the general voice of the nation, and for the calls which were loudly addressed to his honour, as a faithful and generous knight, would have avoided the war. Even after he was thus earnestly excited, James still hesitated and delayed. His Queen employed all her influence over his heart in favour of England. There was in his Court and kingdom, a party who were devoted to the English interests: And Henry was willing to purchase the amity, or even the neutrality of Scotland, at a dearer price than the French could pay. But, the influence of Forman, the call of Anne Queen of France, who named James her knight, and the voice of the nation, faithful to ancient friendships, as to ancient enmities, prevailed at length; and James determined to lend his aid to Lewis, and to make war upon his brother-in-law*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

HAVING

* Hollinshed : Hebert : Lesly : Lindsay : Buchanan.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

Scottish
fleet sent
to aid the
French.

HAVING taken his determination, James instantly sent a herald to denounce war against Henry, unless this proud King would cease from the hostilities which he had already commenced against James's continental allies. The Scottish fleet of three ships of war, was at the same time equipped, and sent under the command of Hamilton, Earl of Arran, with a great force of landsmen as well as sailors on board, to sail to the aid of the French, and to make the most desperate opposition at sea to the English. Hamilton, however, whether unwilling to pursue the expedition, or driven perhaps about by contrary winds, instead of proceeding on his voyage to France, sailed westward to Ireland, burnt Carrickfergus with two or three villages, and then returned into the Bay of Ayr. James no sooner received notice of this delay on the part of the commander of his fleet, than he threatened the severest vengeance upon Hamilton; which a Sovereign could inflict; and dispatched Sir Andrew Wood, with some other gentlemen, to assume the command, and hasten to the aid of his continental allies. But Hamilton, aware of his Sovereign's wrath, and being still secure on board the ships; refused to resign the command, again set sail, and promised yet to accomplish that service for which the expedition had been originally fitted out*.

JAMES'S

* Lindsay : Lesly : Drummond.

JAMES's soul was now on fire. He received from France a small subsidy of fourteen thousand crowns: He had pledged his honour to support with timely aid, the ancient allies of his Crown: Henry had irritated his mind with the most passionate resentment, by the angry contempt with which he replied to his denunciations of war. He trembled lest his fleet should not arrive within due time, to be of use to the French against the English: He was impatient to shew to the former, that he could be a valuable friend; to the latter, that he was no despicable foe: His heart and his imagination were inflamed with almost all the romantic enthusiasm of knight-errantry. In this temper of mind, he summoned his military vassals to attend him in arms. Resolved to invade England at the head of an irresistible force, he had directed his summons to all between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, whether belonging to Scotland, or to its subject-isles: The Borough-moor of Edinburgh was the appointed place of rendezvous: forty days, the term of service for which they were to come provided. Various artifices addressed to James's superstition and to his love were in the mean time employed by the Queen and the English faction, yet to disconcert, and if possible to prevent the threatened invasion. In vain. James's purpose was fixed; his passions were inflamed: Every

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1510.

James pre-
pares to
invade
England.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

Surrey
comes, to
oppose the
invasion.

hour seemed to him an age, till he could display his prowess in some illustrious deeds of arms against the English. His summons was obeyed. Out of all the districts of Scotland, his nobles with their followers, clad in arms, hastened to the appointed rendezvous on the Borough-moor. An immense host was there mustered : They were all ardent and well appointed : and James possessed a large train of artillery, with abundance of ammunition, and all the requisite military stores which were all to be employed in this grand enterprise. With high hopes, this army took their march to the eastern borders of England. They crossed the Tweed. It was not merely an enterprise of devastation and spoil, on which they had come. The castles of Werk, Norham, Ford, and Etall, with every fortalice and strong place on the Northumbrian borders were besieged, taken, and demolished, by the irresistible assault of the Scottish artillery. Yet, although thus finally taken and demolished, these castles made a more formidable and obstinate defence than had been expected, and thus retarded the progress of the invaders, till their own provisions, with whatever the surrounding country afforded, were almost wholly consumed ; and till news was brought, that the Earl of Surrey was advancing with a powerful army, to give them battle *.

THUS

* Eisdem quos supra.

THUS far successful, yet unavoidably involved in difficulties, James now found himself obliged to permit many of his host to depart home, for the purpose of bringing new provisions for themselves and their companions. Without asking his permission, the rest still went off in multitudes from day to day, till of an army which had once amounted almost to an hundred thousand men, hardly fifteen thousand now remained with their King. It was known that Surrey and the English army were advancing; but how far they had advanced, by what route they were approaching, what was the precise plan of the operations which they pursued, —this could not be certainly learned. In these circumstances, James could not advance; retreat he would not; to remain longer in the situation in which he then lay, without coming into action, threatened ruin to all his hopes; for the distress for want of provisions became every day greater: And as the term of forty days, during which alone for the year, were his military vassals obliged to serve him in arms, had nearly expired; it seemed probable that he might be deserted by all his followers, before he could atchieve any thing memorable against the English. The old Earl of Angus, and others of his barons, therefore, counselled him earnestly, to take that safe part which the Scots had been accustomed to adopt on similar occasions, to retire back within his own territories,

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

CHAP. IV.
SECT. L

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

The Scots
and Eng-
lish meet
on the
Cheviot
hills.

and suffer the English to advance after him, till they should run into the same difficulties in which he was then entangled. This counsel, James's high sense of honour as of shame, prompted him to reject with inexpressible transports of indignation. Had not a man remained with him, yet would not he himself have yielded to turn his back upon his foes. The English in the mean time came on, but found the Scots so strongly posted on an high ground, on the banks of the river Till, with the Cheviot mountains towering up to protect them behind, with the river on their right, with a morass on their left, with their artillery so disposed as to cover their front, that Surrey beheld their encampment in despair, as absolutely impregnable, and relinquished all hopes of victorious battle, but what might be still encouraged by the known impetuosity and rashness of the Scots; or by the knowledge of their distress for want of provisions. In these circumstances, he turned all his efforts to intercept the Scottish foraging parties, and by skilful marches and counter-marches, to alarm them with the apprehension, that he intended to elude their vigilance, and advance by a different route into Berwickshire; leaving them to ravage the rest of Northumberland at their pleasure. The contrivance succeeded. The Scots impatiently left their impregnable encampment, and wandered about in uncertain search

search for the enemy, till they ascended the heights of Flowden, and thence beheld the English occupying the freights beneath, in a manner that seemed as if the purpose were to hem them in, and thus subdue them without a battle. This fight was all that James required. He descended upon the subjacent plain, and drew out his forces in battle-array, in opposition to the English *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1510.

By this time the Scottish army was little more than half as numerous as that of the English. James arranged them for the battle in four divisions. The right wing was led on by the Earls of Hume and Huntly : The left was commanded by the Earl of Lennox, and Campbell of Argyle : In the centre was the King himself : Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, with the foot-soldiers of Lothian formed a body of reserve, destined to aid the Scots, and to renew the battle wherever they should appear to be overpowered by the impulse of the enemy. Howard, the eldest son of Surrey, commanded the foremost column of the English host : Surrey himself was in the centre : Sir Edward Stanley was at the head of the right wing : Almost all the nobles of the northern counties of England, and all the best soldiers who had not followed their King to the continent, fought in the army. The right wing of the Scots, commanded by Hume and Huntly, began the battle, by attacking the foremost

* Lesly : Lindsay : Hollinshed : Hebert's History of Henry VIII.

SECT. I, foremost division of the English, which was led
CHAP. IV.

by Lord Howard. This was the flower of the
A. D. Scottish soldiery : And their impulse was irresist-
1488 to ible : The English who opposed them were almost all
1520. quickly cut in pieces, or dispersed. But on the left
wing, the fate of the Scots was reversed : Lennox
and Argyle both perished : Their followers were
slain and scattered with terrible destruction ; and
the English column to which they had been oppo-
sed, were soon ready to reinforce the central co-
lumn, where Surrey himself led on the main
battle. The central divisions of the two armies
had by this time joined in close fight. The Scot-
tish King himself fought in the fore-front of the
battle ; performing at once the part of a skilful
general, and of the bravest and stoutest of sol-
diers. But the English were here far more nu-
merous than the Scots who fought against them :
Hume and Huntley satisfied with what they had
done, returned not to aid their King : Hepburn
led not up those fresh troops which he had held in
reserve, to await the progress of the battle. James
exerted the most desperate valour : All his
young nobles, who fought by his side, vied with
their Sovereign, in the bold exposure of their per-
sons, and in the most heroic exertions of their
prowess. Alas ! they fought in vain. The
archers of Sir Edward Stanley's division of the
English, so sorely galled them, that it soon be-
came

came impossible for them to make any adequate impression on Surrey's spearmen, to whom they were more directly opposed. And in the mean while, the English body of reserve being conducted around on horseback, by Dacres their commander, inclosed the Scots, so that there was no room for them to recede. James and his brave companions, when they saw all their hopes thus cut off, determined to accept no quarter, but to sell their lives as dear as possible. In the new energy and courage which they thus derived from despair, they had almost penetrated through the English host. But against that mighty odds which now overpowered them, it was not possible that they should finally succeed. Huntley, with so many of his followers as he could yet assemble, returned into the battle, to succour and save his king, but came too late. James had perished, and with him his bastard son, Alexander, Archbishop of St Andrew's, the favourite pupil of the illustrious Erasmus, and by him praised as the most promising young man of the age. Of all who had fought in the same ranks with the King, few had deigned to accept quarter, few had deigned to outlive their heroic Sovereign.—Such had been on both sides the general carnage, and so nearly equal was now the fortune of the battle, that had James but survived, the victory had assuredly been his. Hume, whose too eager pursuit of those

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1510.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1513.

those who fled before him in the beginning of the engagement, may seem the chief cause of the loss of the battle,—had now rallied the broken remains of the Scottish army, and with a considerable force rested all night on the field of battle: But Surrey and Howard rested also there: And ere the morning, the knowledge of the events of the battle, had so exalted the confidence of the English, so entirely depressed that of the Scots; that the latter fled in haste with the morning-light; and the former, although they dared not to follow in pursuit, yet remained masters of the field of battle, of the baggage, and of the artillery of the Scots, which they soon conveyed in triumph to the contiguous town of Berwick. The battle of Flowden was fought on the ninth day of September, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen. James perished in the thirty-ninth year of his age, the twenty-fourth of his reign; leaving behind him two infant sons, James, who was afterwards to succeed him on the throne, and Alexander, duke of Ross, who did not, for more than two or three years survive his father*.

Character
of James
IV.

JAMES was a man eminently qualified to rule a martial people, such as were the Scots under his reign. His dexterity and skill in every manly exercise; his passion for glory; his enthusiastic fondness for the pomp and gallantry of chivalry; that activity

* Lindfay: Lesly, &c. &c.

activity of spirit, which disposed him to continual vigilance and exertion in the administration of his own authority; that wise adherence to ancient allies, which hurried him to a premature death; were altogether such an assemblage of qualities, as might well deserve that high estimation with which he was regarded by foreign Kings and nations, no less than by his own subjects. His attention to maritime affairs, and his formation of so considerable a fleet, bespeak an enlargement of mind which was worthy of a great Prince. None indeed but a man of extraordinary talents, could have maintained the authority of the crown without irritating the nobles, in circumstances such as those in which James commenced his reign. The guilt which he had unadvisedly contracted by taking arms against his father, affected his conscience with a remorse which would probably have been still more deep and poignant, had it not been for the delusive and flattering representations of those about him,—and which seems to have been the spring of that extraordinary proneness to superstition, which marked his manners throughout all his subsequent life. In penance for that guilt, he is related to have ever afterwards worn upon his naked waist, an iron chain, distinguishing his contrition of heart, and affecting him as a continual punishment. He

SECT. I.
CHAP. IV.

A. D.
1488 to
1512.

SECT. I. may be regarded as a Prince in almost all respects
 CHAP. IV. superior to his father. But it seems doubtful,

A. D. whether his talents or accomplishments could
 1488 to have entitled him ever to rank with his grandfa-
 1520. ther and great-grandfather, James the Second and
 James the First. While he continued to live in
 celibacy, he had engaged in too many loose
 amours. He had no fewer than five bastard chil-
 dren, by four different maidens whom he de-
 bauched.

CHAPTER V.

The Reign of JAMES V.

Political
 state of
 Scotland
 at the æra
 of the ac-
 cession of
 James V.

JAMES's premature fall was to be still more so, on account of the interests of his family and of his kingdom, than for the sake of any future enjoyments and honours to himself, from the hopes of which it cut him off. Such a succession of minorities upon the throne, continually defeated every plan for exalting the regal authority, and for establishing it upon a basis on which it might thenceforth stand unshaken by all the turbulent assaults of the barons. The royal family could never acquire due strength, while no father survived long enough on the throne, — to see his sons educated to manhood, and no longer

longer liable to be used merely as tools in the hands of a selfish and ambitious nobility. If the splendour of the Earls of Douglas had vanished; yet from among the vassals of that potent family, had sprung up the Humes, who, although inferior in power and opulence, were, however, at least equally turbulent, and equally ambitious: from among its younger branches had arisen the house of Angus, whose chiefs seemed emulous to run the same career which the Earls of Douglas had run before them. That same spirit which had rendered the nobles of the southern counties disobedient and seditious, in the same proportion in which they were pre-eminently martial and brave; still prevailed among them, and made them a nuisance to the civil order of the state, while they were a wall of defence against its southern foes. That division of the barons into two factions, which was occasioned by the adherence of one part of them to James the Third, while the other rose in rebellion against him, had not even hitherto been wholly extinguished. New feuds, and new competitions of interest, could not fail to revive, and vary, and exasperate the hostilities of these factions in a thousand ways. And, while the laws and the estate of the Crown were thus left virtually without a guardian; and while the executive authority was thus in some measure resigned, for a while into the hands of the assembled community, or rather of the individuals of

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

SECT. I. whom it was composed : It could not be but that
CHAP. V. the splendour of the Crown should in these cir-

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

cumstances be impaired : It was impossible that the laws should not lose much of that efficacy which they had begun to possess : It was unavoidable, that many disorders of faction and of sedition should break out over the whole kingdom*.

Establishment of the administration under the infant King.

JAMES the Fifth, when he succeeded to the royal authority, was not more than a year and five months of age. The first measure adopted for conducting the government, appears to have sprung from the general terror of the English which now prevailed, and even in part from a new necessity created by the slaughter of almost all that was illustrious among the Scottish nobles, on Flowden-Field. The Queen was nominated to the regency, and to the tuition of her son; an example hitherto unknown among the Scots. A Council were indeed appointed to assist her with their advice; but the ultimate administration of the supreme authority was confided to her own hands solely. Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow; Huntley, who had escaped alive out of the battle of Flowden; and the old Earl of Angus, who left the host before the battle; were the men nominated to compose this Council. The Earl of Arran, the son of the aunt of the late King, arriving soon after out of France, was then added to their number

* Lindsay : Lelly : Buchanan, &c.

number. He had lost the fleet with which he sailed to France ; and had wholly frustrated the purpose for which it was fitted out. Had James the Fourth still survived, Arran would unquestionably have met death and confiscation, as the reward of such services. They were the miseries of the times which restored him to honour *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

THE first act of Margaret's regency, was—to send a suppliant embassy to her brother Henry,—to lament that error of her late husband, which had impelled him to take up arms against England, and to avert by humble deprecations that terrible vengeance which it was dreaded that Henry might command his victorious armies now to inflict upon the prostrate Scots. Henry's pride had been fully gratified by the event of the battle of Flowden : It was not consistent, either with the present projects of his vain ambition, or with the real interests of his kingdom, to prosecute any scheme for the conquest of Scotland : He suffered the emotions of pity, and of fraternal affection, therefore, to prevail ; and granted to his sister, and her infant son, that peace which was in their name implored from him. The success of this negotiation conferred new power and popularity upon Margaret. Saved from ruin by the generous forbearance of the English Sovereign, the kingdom of Scotland seemed as if it would

now

* Eodem.

SECT. I. now fall into a voluntary dependence upon his
 CHAP. V. power, and rest grateful under his protection*.

A. D.
 1488 to
 1520.

Rise and
 progress of
 party-con-
 tents.

BUT Margaret was as yet a young and beautiful woman ; and she was surrounded in her Court by youthful and amorous nobles, whose fathers had fallen on Flowden-Field. Among these, the handsomest, the most gallant and accomplished, as well as the most eminent in wealth and political influence, was young Archibald Douglas, now Earl of Angus: His father had fallen in the battle of Flowden: his grandfather, the elder Archibald, had not many months survived it. Young Angus quickly persuaded Margaret to forget the reverence due to the memory of James the Fourth, to lay aside the pride of the sister of Henry the Eighth, and without consulting her brother, or the Estates of the kingdom of which she was Queen-regent, to accept him for her second husband. Angus, an aspiring young man, less amorous than ambitious, fancied that he had, by this marriage, secured to himself the administration of the sovereign power, during the minority of the infant King. But the Scottish nobles, naturally averse to endure the regency of a woman, were soon enraged to see, that authority thus seized by one of themselves, which they had reluctantly intrusted to the sister of Henry, in order to conciliate her brother's favour. Hamil-

ton

* Buchanan: Hebert's History of Henry VIII.: Hollinshed.
 Lally: Lindsay, &c.

ton and Beaton, the Earl of Arran, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, would not suffer that the Douglasses should again exalt themselves above every other noble family in the kingdom. Even Hume, the interests of whose family had been long closely united with those of the house of Angus, began to view with anxious jealousy, the towering fortune, and lofty hopes of the husband of the Queen-regent. Every act of the new government was now thwarted, and regarded with discontent. Party-interests were partially served by the exertion of the royal power : And private persons took it upon them to gratify their own humours, to study their own interests, without respect to the legal authority of the government, or to the wishes of the rulers. The unfortunate vacancy of the Archbishoprick of St Andrew's, the last possessor of which, the natural son of James the Fourth, had perished with his father, presented a prize sufficiently powerful to attract into collision all the ambitious, all the angry, and all the avaricious passions of every party. Gavin Douglas, uncle to Angus, and Bishop of Dunkeld ; John Hepburn, Prior of the monastery of St Andrew's ; and Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray ; were all together preferred to the Archbishoprick : Douglas, by the presentation of the Queen ; Hepburn, by the election of the Chapter ; Forman by the appointment of the Pope. The

modest

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

SECT. I. modest Douglas soon withdrew his pretensions.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1540.

But Hepburn being already, in some sort, in possession of the temporalities of the see, would not so easily relinquish his hold. Forman, however, arrived with the Pope's bull in his favour; and could he but procure this bull to be proclaimed publicly in Scotland, it must of necessity be obeyed. Hepburn, protected and encouraged by all the kindred and wellwishers of the family of Bothwell, vigorously opposed every attempt of Forman to assert his rights. At last, however, Forman procured the powerful Earl of Hume to espouse his cause, and to publish his bull. Hepburn was obliged to agree to a compromise, by which he resigned all his claims upon the archbishoprick, yet was liberally gratified with money and benefices, by Forman, the most opulent ecclesiastic of the age. But the contention thus excited, the reluctant agreement by which it was terminated, the thousand animosities which had been kindled up and inflamed amidst its progress: being thus added to those other jealousies and contests which had before begun to prevail; seemed all together to render it impossible for the government of the kingdom to be by any means longer administered under its present establishment. That party who favoured the interests of France, in preference to those of England, combining with those who envied the exaltation of AR⁸US, and with those who earnestly

earnestly desired a more energetic, efficient government ; proposed to recall from France, the son of the late Duke of Albany, the cousin of James the Fourth ; and to commit to him the regency of the kingdom, and the tuition of its young Monarch. He was the next heir to the crown ; and it seemed to be but reasonable that he should be invited home, to await the chance of the succession : He was a stranger, and would therefore view all parties with equal impartiality : He was the subject of the French King ; and would preserve the ancient alliance between the French and the Scottish nations, in its full force. The Queen and her husband could not resist a measure so salutary, and so loudly called for. Even Hume, who enjoyed those estates which Albany's father had once possessed,—whose family had chiefly promoted those measures which drove the former Duke of Albany out of Scotland ; was inconsiderately led to press the most urgently for the recall of his son. An embassy was sent to invite him home ; and his arrival was by all impatiently expected *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1540.

ON the tenth day of May, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen, the Duke of Albany arrived in the frith of Clyde,—attended by a troop of five hundred soldiers, among whom were twenty-four gentlemen,—and bringing with

The Duke
of Albany
arrives in
Scotland.

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G

him

* Lesly : Lindsay : Buchanan : Hume's History of the Douglasses.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

him—twelve pieces of great artillery, with considerable stores of ammunition, and small arms of different sorts. At Dumbarton, he was received by

an eager and frequent concourse of all the most eminent among those barons who had set themselves in opposition to the power of the Queen-dowager and her consort. From Dumbarton, they conducted him in a pompous progress to Glasgow, where he was for some days entertained at the palace of the Archbishop, and amused with every festive exhibition with which the Scots were accustomed to grace their entertainments. From Glasgow he proceeded to Edinburgh, at which a parliamentary assembly of the Scottish freeholders had been already summoned to convene in the ensuing month of July. The parliament assembled. Queen Margaret resigned the regency. The Duke of Albany was invested with all its authority and honours. Those acts were abrogated, by which the father of Albany had been, in the reign of James the Third, condemned to the forfeiture of a traitor, and the earldom of March, the wardenship of the borders, the castle of Dunbar, and all the private estate of his father, were, to the confusion of the Humes, now restored to the Regent. He signalized his entrance upon this high office by some acts of grace, and some of stern justice: James, the bastard son of the late King, obtained the earldom of Moray: Peter Moffat, a daring

He assumes the regency.

ruffian,

ruffian, who had been guilty of many flagitious crimes, was condemned to death: A new com-
promise was negotiated with Archbishop Forman, by which he resigned to the disposal of the Regent, some others of those numerous benefices which he had engrossed: the chief of the Drummonds, for contemptuously striking the Lion-herald, was deprived of all his possessions; the restoration of which was not till after several days, and with great difficulty, obtained for him. The nobles beholding with what firmness Albany grasped the reins of government, were astonished at their own work. Levity, not wisdom; aversion to the government of the Queen, not the desire of a more vigorous administration; had induced them to invite home Albany to govern them. When they saw that his authority would not be feebly exercised; when they found, that he would not lend himself to the private interests of this or that party; they already half-repented of what they had done; and began to conspire in new cabals against him *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1485 to
1520.

HUME, whose power on the borders was now to be reduced within due bounds; Arran, his brother-in-law, a man destined to be the tool of others, and who had been discontented ever since his own pretensions to the regency were slighted; Lennox, the sister's son of Arran; were soon in-

Cabals against Albany.

G 2

flamed

* Eosdem quos supra, &c.

SECT. I. flamed, all, with almost one common hostili-
 CHAP. V.

ty, against the Regent. But before he was aware

A. D.
 1488 to
 1520.

of their purposes, a sudden rumour alarmed him with the suggestion, that the Queen and her husband were about to withdraw secretly, carrying the young King with them, into England. With an activity fitted to frustrate the design, if it had been at all conceived; he marched with an armed force by night, from Edinburgh to Stirling, where the Queen, with her husband and children, then resided; beset the castle with his troops; and compelled Margaret to deliver her two infant sons into his hands. Hume now openly took part with Angus; and Hume, Angus, and Queen Margaret, thinking themselves no longer safe while within the power of Albany, fled, all three with one accord, towards England. While the Queen-dowager and her husband found an honourable reception in the dominions of her brother; Hume returning among his own vassals, began to exercise various acts of hostility against those of his neighbours who owned the Regent's power. The castle of Dunbar had been already occupied by the Regent's servants in his name; but Hume obstinately refused to surrender the earldom of March, which had so long remained in the power of his family. Albany, with a promptitude and energy of conduct worthy of the descendant of James the First, instantly procured Hume to be condemned

demned by the parliament, as guilty of treason, and his estates to be confiscated ; and then, with an army of nearly ten thousand men, marched towards the borders, to execute that sentence which he had procured to be pronounced. The rebel baron was unprepared to meet so powerful a force in arms ; and saw therefore no resource left for him, but to throw himself upon his adversary's mercy. Albany, forgiving in part the punishment due to his guilt, was satisfied with sending him into confinement in Edinburgh, under the custody of Arran, whose conduct had not yet been openly such as to excite the Regent's suspicions *.

SECT. I.
CHAP V.

A.D.
1488 to
1510.

ALBANY might fancy that he had his enemy now inextricably entangled within his toils ; but he was quickly to be undeceived. The prisoner and his keeper soon fled together : and had soon, with their dependents, raised the standard of rebellion in the counties of the west. Angus forsaking the Queen, returned out of England to join them. Making Glasgow their principal place of rendezvous, they seized some military stores newly landed for the Regent in the frith of Clyde, and resolved to prosecute their quarrel in arms, till the late attainders should be reversed, and the ruler whose government they could not endure,

* Lindsay : Lesly : Hume's History of the Douglasses, &c.

SECT. I. endure, should be compelled to depart out of the
CHAP. V. kingdom. But Albany met this alarm and these

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

dangers with the same prudent and vigorous activity which he had before displayed. Many of the other barons either joined Hume, Angus, and Arran, at Glasgow, or at least delayed to give their support to the Regent against those insurgents. But he had still at his command, those gallant men who had accompanied him from France; Lennox, too, had not been carried away from the Court with his uncle; and Erskine, to whom the immediate tuition of the young King had been, by Albany, intrusted, was ready still to support the authority of the Prince by whom he had been so highly advanced. With such a force, therefore, as he could readily muster, he marched into the west against the rebels. At his approach they dispersed themselves in terror. But he then laid siege to the castle of Hamilton, and would have taken and razed it to the ground, had not his aunt, the mother of Hamilton, and—Archbishop Forman, now old in conciliatory negotiations,—interposed at once to mitigate his anger, and to persuade the Earl of Arran to throw himself upon his mercy. Arran was thus pardoned, and received again into the Regent's favour. The interposition of the King of England afterwards procured the same remission for Hume and Angus, although

Success of
the Re-
gent a-
gainst the
insurgents.

although not till Angus had first fled for safety into France *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1510.

BUT the rebellious nobles were not yet either cordially reconciled to the government of Albany, or convinced that it was impossible for them to subvert his power. Their rebellion had probably, although pardoned, brought some new grievances upon them, in punishment for its guilt. And they were not yet willing to sit down so much humbled and impoverished, without once more risking all that remained to them, for the chance of recovering what they had lost. Arran, Lennox, and Glencairn, took up arms, and fortifying the castle of Dumbarton, and others in the west, against the Regent, prepared to oppose his authority more vigorously than had been done before. The object to which they openly aspired, was, to displace Albany, and to exalt Arran to the regency in his stead. But the Humes, whose patrimony was the most at stake, were still probably the secret movers of the whole. Again, however, the Regent mustered a force sufficient to overawe the rebels: Again were they reduced to seek their safety in submission: Again did he find it requisite to dissemble his wrath, and to grant the forgiveness which they asked †.

The insur-
gency re-
newed.

THIS

* Eodem.

† Lesly, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

Farther
progress of
national
affairs.

THIS reconciliation was perhaps on all hands insincere. Hume returned to his possessions on the borders, quickly renewed his opposition to the Regent's authority on the marches. Lennox still held the castle of Dumbarton; which was at this time of extraordinary importance,—because it was from the frith of Clyde that the Scottish ships often sailed to France, while the English were masters in the eastern seas. Arran alone, who was destined to be still a tool in the hands of others, seems to have now at last fallen wholly under the influence of his cousin Albany. Queen Margaret in England, in the mean time urged her brother Henry, to interpose in the affairs of Scotland, to expel Albany out of the kingdom, and restore herself and her friends to that power in which they had once hoped to maintain themselves during her son's minority. The faction of the Humes secretly corresponded with the English; and it was only the inconsiderate fury of their passions, and their want of discernment and prudence, which prevented them from overthrowing that authority which Albany strove so hard to maintain. Albany's earnest desire at present was, to obtain a parliamentary recognition of his right to the regal succession, if the young King should die without offspring; for Alexander, the second surviving child of James the Fourth, who was indeed born after his father's death, had already died of one
of

of the diseases commonly incident to children. But the interests of Queen Margaret, the interests even of Arran, led them not only to oppose the recognition of his right to the regal succession, but to exclude him from the regency, and from the kingdom. While his adversaries intrigued thus to overthrow his power; and while he was secretly procuring means to intrap and disarm them: the Regent in the mean time, continued to exercise the functions of government still with the same energy as before. Robertson of Strowan having wasted Athole with atrocious depredations of robbery and slaughter, was beheaded at Logierait. In his justiciary progresses, Albany exercised that unsparing severity of punishment which the laws authorized, and the manners of the people required, but which hardly even James the Fourth himself had dared so uniformly to inflict. Particular families and individuals might be offended by this severity, but its effects were so strikingly salutary, that it did not fail to recommend his administration to the esteem of the nation in general *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

At last, when every other measure for the cordial reconciliation of the Humes to their duty, had proved ineffectual; Albany saw himself reduced to the necessity of employing against them, that dark and crafty policy, which had been used

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H

by

* Lesly: Lindsay: Buchanan: Drummond, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

by his grandfather against the Douglasses. A parliament was summoned to assemble at Edinburgh:

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

The
Humes
put to
death.

The Humes especially were invited with the most flattering solicitations; to attend; since without their presence, and concurring counsels, the deliberations of the parliament could not be conducted with sufficient intelligence and wisdom, nor could its decrees command the due respect of the nation whose affairs they were intended to regulate. The Humes, conscious of their own crimes and guilty purposes, and suspicious that Albany might still be secretly no less hostile to them, than they were to him; for a while hesitated to obey the summons, and dreaded the consequences of putting themselves within the Regent's power. But Albany protested, that no harm was intended them: His friends flattered, soothed, and persuaded them: To disobey, would be to set the Regent at defiance, and to commit an act of treason which would leave them no farther resource save in open force. After long consultation with their friends, Alexander, Lord Hume, with his brother, and Ker of Fernihurst, their confidential friend, repaired to Edinburgh. The elder Hume, without farther hesitation, went to attend the Regent in the abbey of the Holy-Rood. He met with a reception, as it seemed, so frankly kind, so flatteringly respectful; his counsels were so earnestly asked, and so attentively listened to; Al-

bany

bany expressed so much sorrow for the contentions which had arisen, and such a disposition to bury the past in oblivion, and to satisfy the Humes to the utmost of their wishes ; that Alexander's fears and suspicions were at last overcome. But the Regent was desirous not less to receive the assistance of William Hume and Andrew Ker, in the deliberations of the parliament, than to have the authority and advice of Alexander. Nay, it was his wish, as he said, to send William Hume, a man whose political talents were highly esteemed, upon an embassy to the English Monarch, in order to frustrate the solicitations and intrigues of Queen Margaret at the English Court. Since all was now reconciliation and open friendship, Lord Hume scorned to adhere for a moment longer to that suspecting plan of conduct which had induced him to leave his brother behind in the town, lest they might both fall into the same snare,—if snare there were. At the Regent's earnest request, Hume sending a ring from his own finger, a token which could not be counterfeited, required his brother William, and Ker, to join him at the Regent's court, within the abbey. They came, and by their coming, fixed their own fate, as well as that of Lord Alexander. No sooner had they entered, than the gates were shut : and they, with Alexander, were taken immediately into custody by the Regent's guards. The season of dissimulation was

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A. D.
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SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

now over with Albany : He had accomplished his purpose : His enemies were in his hands. The Humes awakened from their dream of reconciliation, security, augmented influence, only to see the axe of the executioner ready to descend upon their heads. They were, without delay, accused before a jury of their peers, of various acts of treason ; convicted ; condemned to suffer the punishment of traitors ; and forthwith brought to expiate their turbulent ambition on the scaffold. Of the crimes alledged against the Humes, one not susceptible of satisfactory proof, was, that for fear of punishment for his misconduct on Flowden-field, Lord Hume had made some of his vassals to assassinate King James the Fourth, as he was making his escape out of that disastrous battle. Their real crimes in the Regent's eyes, no doubt were,—that the family of the Humes had aspired to rise upon the ruins of their ancient Lords, the Douglasses, to the same invidious grandeur from which the Douglasses had been suddenly hurled ; that they had assumed all the turbulence and haughtiness of the last Earls of that illustrious house ; that the power which they usurped on the borders, was incompatible with Albany's preservation of his authority and possessions, as Earl of March ; that Albany had been taught to regard them as the authors of his father's exile ; that their abilities, although mean, yet superior to those

those of the other Scottish nobles, their intrigues with England, their cabals with their fellow-subjects, their indignation to find Albany their enemy, after they had been so forward to invite him home,—all together rendered it impossible for the Regent to think his power firmly established while they survived. They might fancy that the part which their father had acted against James the Third, would seem in Albany's eyes, as if it had been done to revenge the injuries suffered by his father. But Albany knew them to have first fomented that jealousy against his father which had prompted James the Third to seek his life. He knew that they had been ever loyal or rebellious, solely as the one or the other suited the purposes of their private ambition. Ker, whose evidence had perhaps been employed against the Humes, was acquitted and set at liberty. Lennox also, who, although less formidable than the Humes, had also taken part in the last disturbances excited by their faction; was thrown into temporary confinement, until he yielded to send to his servants to surrender to the Governor's order, the strong castle of Dumbarton, of which, although it belonged properly to the King, Lennox had, some time before, obtained possession. Albany thus triumphant over his adversaries, easily obtained a parliamentary recognition of his right to inherit the Crown, next after young James and his posterity. He soon after committed

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1520.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

committed to Sir Anthony Darcy, that dependent authority upon the marches, which Earl Hume had before enjoyed : Hume's office of Chamberlain to his Sovereign, was conferred upon Fleming of Cumbernauld *.

Conti-
nental af-
fairs.

IN the mean while, the gallant, the generous, the ambitious, the enlightened Francis the First, had succeeded to the crown of his father-in-law, Lewis the Twelfth of France. Charles the Fifth had inherited the kingdoms of Spain. Those contentions which, under the predecessors of these two illustrious Princes, had been begun between the French and the Spanish Monarchies, were to be now renewed, and prosecuted with keener emulation, and with mightier and more unremitting efforts, than they had before called forth. Italy was still to be the theatre ; for Italy, from being anciently the mistress of the rest of Europe, had become, in these later ages, merely a prize to invite the contentions of the people of her ancient provinces. From opposing each other in this point of contact, the French, Spaniards, and Germans, were soon naturally led to attack one another, wherever they respectively appeared to be the most easily vulnerable. The increase of knowledge, the improvement of the arts, the growing frequency of commercial and ecclesiastical inter-
course,

* Lesly : Lindsay ; Buchanan.

course, while they brought all the European nations continually, as it were, more and more closely into mutual contact; by the same means disposed them at once to more extensive combinations of amity, and to more complex plans and divisions of hostility. In this state of the affairs of the great nations on the continent; the Scottish and English nations might have looked on, as almost unconcerned spectators. But the English had inherited from their fathers, an eternal enmity against France: the Scots had equally inherited the enmity of the English, but the friendship of the French. Hence were both Scots and English naturally involved in all the wars in which France was concerned: Hence had even the pacific Henry the Seventh been led to threaten, and to begin war with France: Hence had Henry the Eighth been incited in the first years of his reign to lead an army to the continent; Hence had James the Fourth been excited to undertake that expedition in which he perished at Flowden-field. But Henry the Eighth was so far from being necessarily engaged in continental wars, that he could avoid or pursue them at pleasure, without any degradation of dignity, or diminution of power. France, Spain, and Germany, were necessarily driven into one combination of policy, and obliged to watch each others views in war and in peace: But England,

standing

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A. D.
1488 to
1520.

SECT. I.
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A D.
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1520.

standing in its insular situation, so much aloof from the rest of Europe, was not reduced to any unavoidable necessity of taking part in its wars and political transactions. Precisely for this reason; because he could trifle with them without placing his main interests at stake; Henry the Eighth long intermeddled with foolish vanity, in all the train of continental affairs. As the concern he took in them, was only, as a sacrifice to his own vanity, he was soon led to relinquish, in a great measure, that ancient principle of hostility against France, by which all the expeditions of his predecessors to the continent had been continually prompted. He limited all his pride to be the umpire between the contending Monarchs: and fancied that he became umpire among them, rather because he was actually greater and more powerful than any of them,—than because their most important interests were at stake, but his were not,—than because although respectively mighty, they were so nicely counterpoised one against another, that any new weight, however light, might be sufficient to turn the scale. Francis had, at this time, by trivial concessions, by feigned submissions, acquired, for some moments, his capricious favour. Henry, willing to gratify his sister Margaret, but without any renewal of unprofitable hostilities against the Scots, required Francis to recall from Scotland—

the

the Duke of Albany, whose estates in France retained him under a necessity of paying obedience to the commands of the French Monarch. The French had ever been accustomed to sacrifice, upon extraordinary emergencies, the interests of their Scottish allies to their own: And the Scots having no alternative between steady adherence to the alliance of France, and the laying of themselves at the mercy of the English; had still been obliged to overlook the occasional infidelities of their allies, and to comply almost at all times with their wishes. An embassy from Francis invited Albany abroad. He went, but promised soon to return. Darcy, who accompanied him from France, and to whom he had entrusted the wardenship of the marches, was left, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earls of Huntly, Arran, and Argyle, to administer the government in the Regent's absence*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

No sooner was Albany gone, than the Queen-dowager, and her husband Angus, returned to Scotland. She could not again obtain the regency of which she had been divested. But she could now enjoy more safely her jointure-lands; Angus, his family-estates: and they might expect soon to recover, between them, almost all that influence which they had before possessed, in the

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I

government.

* Lindsay: Lesly: Buchanan, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

Disorders
in the
Duke of
Albany's
absence.

government. But before any change in the administration could be accomplished by their intrigues, all those disorders and civil broils which the energy of the Regent had repressed, broke out afresh, over all the country. Meldrum of Binns, a gallant squire, was for the sake of the fair widow Haldane of Gleneagles, whose affections he had won, attacked between Leith and Edinburgh, by Stirling of Keir, with a company of fifty men, to fight against five; and after Meldrum, with his brave companions, had slain and wounded not fewer than six and twenty of their assailants; the valiant youth was left for dead upon the spot. Darcy, however, pursued and overtook the assassins, and within due time brought them to justice. Darcy was himself to be soon after treacherously assailed like Meldrum. As warden of the marches, he went to the town of Dunse, attended by the Kers of Cessford and Farnihurst, to hold his Justiciary Court. But Hume of Wedderburn, and others of the clan, still burning with resentment for the fate of their chiefs, were aware of his progress, and laid snares for his life. Darcy was a stranger, imperfectly acquainted with the country. All the Scots on the border were men ferocious and crafty as savages; and were often ready to serve one another, at the expence of any perfidy to men more remotely connected with them. Those to whose care Darcy had trusted his personal safety,

ty, contrived to expose him alone, or almost alone, to an ambush of the Humes. Although brave, yet when he found himself way-laid by such numbers that resistance would have been vain, he put spurs to his horse, and fled at full speed. Perhaps he might have escaped, had not he, in his total ignorance of the local nature of the country, suffered his horse to hurry him into the midst of a morass, where the animal being entangled, could not extricate itself; so that Darcy remained an almost helpless prey to his enemies, by whom he was soon overtaken. They stabbed him to the heart; cut off his head; and David Hume of Wedderburn carried it fastened by the long hair to his saddle-bow, till they fixed it upon a pole at Hume-castle, as if it had been the head of a traitor*.

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CHAP. V.

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1488 to
1520.

DARCY, the Lieutenant of the Duke of Albany, being thus cut off; the Earl of Arran, who was rather a weak than a bad man, assumed the most active part in the administration of the regency, and particularly the wardenship of the marches. His first care was—to prosecute the assassins by whom Darcy had been slain. Hume of Wedderburn sought refuge for a time in England. But Arran coming into the Merse with a powerful force, and seizing George Douglas, brother to the Earl of Angus, and with him Mark Ker, who

Efforts to
settle and
punish
them.

I 2

had

* Lindsay: Lesly: Buchannan: Hollinshed: Sir David Lindsay's Poem of Squire Meldrum.

SECT. I. had been accomplices in the slaughter, carried
CHAP. V. them into confinement in the castle of Edinburgh.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

A parliament soon after assembled at Edinburgh, condemned Hume of Wedderburn, Cockburn of Langton, and John the brother of David Hume, with their other accomplices, as guilty of treason in the murder of Darcy, declared their lands to be confiscated, and doomed themselves to perish on the scaffold. Arran, supplied with artillery to batter the castles of the rebels, went again to take possession of their estates, and seized for the King, the castles of Hume, Langton, and Wedderburn. With the same activity, he exerted himself to repress every disorder in the southern counties. The Hepburns had assassinated David, the youngest brother of the late Lord Hume, an innocent young man, who had recently obtained the priorate of Coldingham : And Arran now vigorously exerted himself to bring them also to justice *.

Rising influence of Angus, & feuds between him and his rivals.

AMID these transactions, the Earl of Angus began to regain that ascendancy among the Scottish nobles, which the Douglasses, from whom he was descended, had long possessed. The same ambition which had made him aspire to the bed of a Queen, now prompted him to oppose the power of Arran. He could not without indignation, see a rival exalted

* Lindsay : Lesly : Buchanan : Skene's Acts, &c.

altered by the forfeiture of the Humes, and the absence of the Regent, to that authority on the marches, which he deemed to be, in some sort, an inheritance of his own family. A contest between Angus and Ker of Farniberst, concerning the bailiffship of Angus's lands in the forest of Jedburgh, drew the Earl of Arran to take part with Ker, and thus brought the jealousies of the two Earls into immediate and open collision. A party of the dependents upon Angus, assailed with sudden violence, James the natural son of Arran, slew five or six of the company who attended him, and pursued the fleeing Hamiltons with such eager impetuosity, that they with difficulty made their escape into Hume-castle. This violence offered by dependents of Angus, but without orders from himself, to the son of Arran, might be excused as originating in other causes than the aversion of the former to the government and interests of the latter. But those many other acts by which Angus and his friends still continued to depress the influence of his rival, and to exalt their own, could not longer be either disguised or mistaken. The kingdom was divided between the two factions: Many new quarrels broke forth, solely from the collision of the angry spirits of the respective partisans of the two rival Earls. The private feuds of meaner persons were every where sheltered under the

SECT. I.
 CHAP. V.

A. D.
 1488 to
 1520.

SECT. I. the pretext of contest on accounts of the two nobles
 CHAP. V. whose influence divided the nation *.

A. D.
 1488 to
 1520.

A parlia-
 ment sum-
 moned to
 meet.

A CONVENTION was, in the mean time, summoned to assemble at Edinburgh for the purpose of composing those differences which distracted the state, and to provide for the farther administration of the government, till the King should attain the years of majority, or the Duke of Albany might be permitted to return from France †.

Contests
 between
 Angus &
 Arran,
 with their
 friends.

To this convention the Douglasses came in great force; and Edinburgh seemed soon to be so entirely in their power; that the Hamiltons hesitated to enter a city in which, as it appeared, they must be at the mercy of the rival faction. To satisfy their fears, Douglas of Kilspindie, uncle or cousin to Angus, resigned the office of Provost of Edinburgh, which he for that year held. Arran thus far gratified, immediately entered the town with all his train. Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, Chancellor of the kingdom, was the chief counsellor of Arran's party: And at his house, in the *Blackfriars Wynd*, a consultation was speedily held, in order to determine upon the conduct which they should observe towards Angus. Angus's friends, on their part, were not less jealous of the Hamiltons; and now impatient, either by artifice or open

* Lindfay : Lefly, &c.

† Eofdem

open force to gain a decisive advantage over them. Laws, resolutions, formal concessions, could little avail either party; for they were not likely to be regarded longer than the necessity of weakness, or the persuasions of interest should invincibly enforce them. Arms, arms alone, were the sole means to which the inflamed passions of both parties prompted them to refer the determination of their quarrel. But the Douglasses, in the concessions by which they had already endeavoured, with honest or insidious purpose, to remove those fears which had withheld the Hamiltons from entering Edinburgh; had weakened their own force to a degree, that seemed to render it doubtful whether they might not be suddenly overpowered by their adversaries. While they suspected the Hamiltons to be about to assail them, Angus with his friends drew out in battle-array, near the *Nether Bow*; and Gavin Douglas, uncle to Angus, and Bishop of Dunkeld, was sent to attempt to pacify the party of Arran; and if possible, yet to accomplish a reconciliation, and prevent the dangerous broil that seemed about to ensue. Gavin Douglas, a man of gentle manners, and by his science, taste, and literature, the prime ornament of his country, was fitted to take a part in ecclesiastical intrigues or civil discords, by nothing but the superiority of his talents, and by the candid discretion and magnanimity of his mind.

SECT. I.
Chap. V.

A. D.
1498 to
1520

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

mind. He went on this errand of peace. The Hamiltons he found ready in arms: and impatient to seize Angus, and disperse his party. To Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and like him, bound as an ecclesiastic, to be the friend of peace, did the Bishop of Dunkeld first address himself. *By my conscience*, said Beaton, earnestly exculpating himself from the suspicion of having excited the Hamiltons to violence, and at the same time eluding Gavin Douglas's request by ambiguous words,—*by my conscience, I know not the matter*: As he thus spoke, he struck his hand upon his breast, with a vehement earnestness of gesture; and the armour which he wore under his Episcopal robes, sounded at the stroke. *Your conscience is not good*, replied Gavin Douglas, with calm contemptuous indignation, *I hear it clatter*. So saying, Douglas turned from him, and proposed his pacific message to one, and then to another of the same party. But his words were addressed to men confident in their own force and numbers, transported with rage and with the desire of revenge, and already in imagination trampling in victory, upon the lives of their foes. Sir Patrick Hamilton, Arran's brother, would have perhaps yielded to interpose his good offices to prevent the threatened bloodshed. But Sir James Hamilton, the Earl's natural son, whom the Douglasses had lately

assaulted

assaulted and pursued, impatiently interrupted the parley, and with loud taunts called away his uncle from listening to any terms but those which the sword should enforce. Gavin Douglas, seeing all his endeavours to preserve the peace thus frustrated, turned him in sorrow; and bidding his armed servants attend his nephew, retired, himself, to his lodgings; that he might not violate the sanctity of his Episcopal character, by fighting in the fray which he had striven in vain to prevent. Angus, in the mean time, while his uncle amused the Hamiltons, had possessed himself, by the favour of the citizens, of the whole *High Street*; had armed all his followers; and had rudely barricaded the outlets of those avenues by which the Hamiltons might be expected to issue forth against him. Arran's party were thus precluded from access to the *High Street*, save by the *Blackfriars Wynd*: And here Angus with the bravest of his friends awaited to assault them, as they should endeavour to come on, by twos and threes; confined by the narrowness of the lane from issuing out in a body, and bringing all their numbers into action at once. It was not a combat. The Hamiltons, obedient to nought but blind fury, were slain almost unresistingly as they came out, till more than three score of them had fallen, and among these Sir Patrick Hamilton, and the Master of Montgomery. Of the rest, the Earl of Arran and some others

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

SECT. I. made their escape across the town, and through
 CHAP. V. some part of the *North Loch*; others fled in different directions; the Archbishop of Glasgow, turning backwards, took refuge in the *Church of the Blackfriars*, behind the high altar, from which he was furiously dragged forth, and with difficulty saved from massacre by the intercession of Gavin Douglas. Ere the fray was over, William Douglas, Angus's brother, who had obtained the priory of Coldingham, and David Hume of Wedderburn, had arrived at the city-gates from the Merse, with a reinforcement of eight hundred men, to augment the strength of Angus's party. Finding the gates shut, but unguarded, they burst them open. When they entered, they found that they had come too late for the combat, and that nought remained but to share the joy of the victory. Angus was now left to lord it at Edinburgh, at his pleasure. Arran, and James his natural son—and now his prime counsellor, having escaped; in the western counties, endeavoured, but not with uniform success, to avenge the disgrace which they had suffered, by acts of hostility against such of Angus's adherents; as were placed within those districts, and at a distance from the body of their friends*.

HENRY the Eighth of England, whose policy
 was

* Leſly: Lindſay: Buchanan, &c.

was still subservient, partly to his own vanity and caprice, in part to the vanity and private interests of his minister and favourite Wolsey ; had in the mean time abandoned the alliance of the French King, for that of Charles Emperor of Germany and King of Spain ; and prepared with mighty boastings, and with boundless hopes, to renew the war with France. Francis the First, thus again deserted by his English ally, was no longer concerned to gratify Henry's wishes, by detaining the Duke of Albany from returning to resume the administration of the Scottish government. Albany, stimulated by a desire to avenge the death of Darcy, and now earnestly invited by Hamilton, and all the enemies of Angus, was impatient to return. Among these enemies of Angus, was now his wife Queen Margaret, the mother of his daughter and only legitimate child. In matters of love, Margaret's character appears to have been not unlike to that of her wife-beheading brother Henry. But Angus had given her just cause of offence ; and while she was absent in England, had, in the wantonness of youthful blood, entered into an illicit intercourse of love, with a daughter of the *Laird* of Traquair. Margaret, on her part, had not long been informed of her husband's infidelity, when she, in her turn, withdrew also her affections wholly from him. Another young nobleman, Stewart, brother to the Lord of Ochiltree,

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

Transac-
tions ter-
minating
in the re-
turn of Al-
bany into
Scotland.

SECT. I. soon attracted her notice, and won her love.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

That ardent passion, so fond and mutual, which had once united her with Angus, was now converted into the bitterest hatred. Combining the resentments of love with the views of policy, as it is natural for women especially to do; she made common cause with Angus's enemies; procured Albany to solicit at the Court of Rome, a divorce, which should set her at liberty to marry her new lover; and joined with the Hamiltons, in inviting Albany's return to Scotland. Angus, on his part, still maintained his connections with the English Court; represented Margaret's intrigues as hostile equally to her brother's interests, and to her own honour; and persuaded Henry to become the enemy of *his* enemies, and the protector of *his* power. It was in vain. Albany, no longer detained in France by his own Sovereign, set sail for Scotland; was fortunate enough to escape the English cruizers which were stationed to intercept his voyage; and in the end of October, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-two, arrived safe in the *Gareloch* on the western coast of the kingdom*.

He soon proceeded to Edinburgh, and set himself earnestly to re-establish that civil order, which had been, during his absence, wholly overthrown.

From

* Lesly; Lindfay; Buchanan.

From the time of their success in the late fray at Edinburgh, Angus and his adherents had reigned almost without controul, in the southern and eastern counties. One daring act by which his partisans had signalized their scorn of the Regent's administration, was, by taking down the heads of the two Humes, whose treason had brought them to the block,—and solemnly interring those remains of the traitors, with funeral honours, in the Grayfriars church-yard.—Their brothers were also recalled from banishment; and all who had suffered forfeiture with the Humes, under the administration of the Regent, and all who had more lately been expelled from their possessions on account of the assassination of Darcy; were, by the usurped and irregular authority of Angus, restored to the enjoyment of their estates and honours *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1510.

Albany
provoked
by the e-
vents
which had
taken
place in his
absence.

THESE things could not but enrage Albany beyond measure. To add to the irritation which they must have excited, a herald from the King of England arrived in Edinburgh, while the parliament were convened at the Regent's first summons; and, in Henry's name, charged him to depart out of Scotland, and, at the same time, required the Scottish nobles to reject his authority. But Albany was not to be frightened from his duty, was not to be disappointed of his revenge.

The

* Eoſdem.

SECT. I. The Queen, Beaton Archbishop of Glasgow, the
CHAP. V.

A D.
1488 to
1520.

Earl of Huntley, all who were adverse to Angus and the Humes, or friendly to order and good government, or partial to the long-tried alliance of France; countenanced the administration of Albany by their presence, and supported his authority with all their influence. Long before his own return out of France, he had dispatched other soldiers, and another lieutenant, to hold for him the castle of Dunbar, formerly intrusted to Darcy. He was strong therefore in his own character and personal talents, in the support of a majority of the Scottish barons, and in the faithful valour of a small armed force of foreign soldiers. The messages of Henry were heard with contempt, and his herald was dismissed with a scornful refusal of his demands. Angus, too, was compelled to bow before a power which he could not withstand. Angus himself, and his brother George Douglas, were sent in exile to France. Gavin his uncle, Hume of Wedderburn, and several of the most obnoxious of his other adherents, fled into England, without awaiting the issue of a trial, and were declared traitors to the state. Albany's rights as Earl of March, and his authority as Warden of the borders, were again fully vindicated and re-established *.

THUS

* Lindsay : Lesly : Buchanan : Hume's History of the Douglas : Drummond, &c.

THUS far triumphant over the faction of England, and over the enemies of his own power; having recommended himself to the favour of all the principal nobility, by the overthrow of a party which had usurped, and partly dissolved, the government of the kingdom; Albany might now please himself with the hope of heartily reconciling the whole Scottish nation to his own authority, and to the interests of France. The truce which had subsisted between Scotland and England, ever since the fall of James the Fourth, was terminated by the late haughty messages of Henry, and by the indignant answer which had been returned to them. Pursuing with actual hostilities that denunciation of war which had thus been uttered, Albany, while it was yet winter, assembled the military vassals of the kingdom in arms at Roslin, and thence conducting them into Annandale, hastened to enter England upon the western border, where the English were the least prepared to meet and to repulse invasion. Dacres, Warden of the western marches for the English, had indeed made already some petty incursions into the Scottish territories; yet was wholly unprepared to resist so powerful an invading army; so wisely had Albany concerted the plan of his expedition. Albany himself, with that gallant band of Frenchmen, in number about five hundred, in whose faithful valour he chiefly confided; without delay crossed the Esk, near to where

it

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

Albany disappointed in his attempts to commence a war with England.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1488 to
1520.

it falls into the Solway-frith, and were even followed by some part of the Scottish militia. But the Scots had not yet lost the remembrance of the unfortunate battle of Flowden-field: There was a party amongst them still partially attached to the English interests: They were jealous that Albany, a Frenchman by birth, and still the subject of the French Monarch, might be disposed to sacrifice their welfare to the interest of France. The Queen herself, now delivered from the hated presence of her husband, was not willing to prosecute to an irreconcilable length, the temporary dissatisfaction which had arisen between her and her brother. From these causes, Albany here found the Scottish barons suddenly refuse, with refractory obstinacy, to accompany his expedition beyond the confines of their own kingdom. The Earl of Huntley openly refused to pass beyond the Solway-frith: and others, who had at first appeared to be less ready for disobedience, soon declared their resolution to follow Huntley's example. The van-guard of the army had by this time advanced as far as Carlisle, and threatened to besiege that city. What should the Regent do? Must he relinquish thus unaccountably an expedition wisely concerted, and likely to be crowned with the fullest success? All his persuasions, all his reproaches, were vain. Nothing could move the Scottish barons from their resolution of confining their operations within the

limits

limits of offensive warfare. Happily, to relieve him from the dilemma in which he found himself entangled, Dacres was willing to purchase the retreat of an army, whom their leader could not persuade to advance, at the expence of some concessions, and of some promises of money, which it seems was never afterwards paid. The Queen herself, whose intrigues had probably operated as a principal cause in exciting the opposition to the Regent's wishes, repaired hastily to the camp, and forwarded the negotiations with Dacres. These negotiations procured a temporary truce, more useful to the English than to the Scots. Albany availing himself of this cessation of hostilities; committed what power there yet was in the Regency, to the Earl of Lennox, Luzence lieutenant of the castle of Dunbar, and Beaton now preferred from the Archbishoprick of Glasgow to that of St Andrew's: And having thus provided for the vicegerent administration of the government in his intended absence; sailed himself for France, to solicit from the French King, a new auxiliary force, such as might at once overawe the refractory turbulence of the Scottish barons, and make a powerful impression on England in a new invasion *.

Sacr. I.
Chap. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

DURING the absence of Albany, the English

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L

themselves

* Eodem quos supra.

SECT. I. themselves acted in a manner which was calculated to provoke the Scots to abandon that system of merely defensive warfare, to which they

CHAP. V.

A. D. 1520 to 1542. seemed desirous to confine themselves. Henry of

Inroads of the English into Scotland.

England was too haughty and inconsiderate to pursue those conciliatory measures, which might now have easily fixed the Scots in his interests.

Or rather such was the habitual temper of mutual animosity, with which both the Scots and the English regarded one another, that even when they were, from considerations of interest, disposed to mutual amity ; they knew not how to impose the necessary restraints on their inveterate jealousies and resentments. Excited probably by the banished Humes, and in the punctiliousness of his pride, resolving first to chastise the Scots for their attempt upon Carlisle, ere he would grant them peace ; believing, too, that the presence of an invading army might soon compel them to agree to any terms of pacification he should please to dictate ; Henry, upon these motives, sent the Earl of Surrey, early in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-three, to assume the chief command of his forces in the north, and with Grey, warden of the eastern marches, and Dacres, warden of the western, to invade Scotland with a great army, and compel the Scots to yield obedience to his commands. Surrey with his lieutenants entered the Scottish borders at the head of

an

an army of six thousand men, ravaged the eastern and western marches of Scotland; and took and demolished Jedburgh, with some other places of strength *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1530 to
1542.

BUT Albany was now on his way back to Scotland; nor could the English intercept him on his voyage. From France he had obtained, not that considerable force which he solicited, but yet a reinforcement with which it was hoped he might make a powerful diversion in Britain. While the English, aware of his having set sail for Scotland, awaited to intercept him at the mouth of the German ocean, he took a western course, and thus eluding all their vigilance, safely landed at Kirkcudbright, on the southern coast of Galloway. From Kirkcudbright he proceeded in haste to Edinburgh. A convention of the Scottish nobles there met him in parliament; and being informed of the supplies he had brought from France, agreed to join him in arms in Douglassdale, and thence to march to repulse and retaliate the English invasion. Mustered in Douglassdale, these forces then marched to enter England across the Tweed at Coldstream. A body of French and Scottish soldiers were from Coldstream sent forward to lay siege to Werk-castle; while another party went to depopulate the adjacent country. The Earl of Surrey,

Albany returns, resigns the Regency, and leaves the kingdom.

L 2

with

* Lesly: Buchanan: Lindsay, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

with a potent army, remained at Alnwick; but hoping, in consequence of his intrigues with the English faction in Scotland, to thwart the measures of Albany otherwise than by fighting; he would not now take any offensive part against the Scots. The siege of Werk-castle was earnestly urged; for the besiegers were not only strong in numbers, but were provided with a large train of artillery, with which they played incessantly upon the castle. A breach was made; some of the French soldiers entered; but the Scots stood back, and refused to second them; and they were, in consequence of this, quickly mastered by the garrison, and hanged from the walls. A storm arising, which was accompanied with much rain, the Scots, upon this pretext, retired back over the Tweed. Albany, to his infinite mortification, was compelled to agree to a truce, which, after being first secretly concerted between Queen Margaret and the Earl of Surrey, was soon after openly negotiated between the leaders of the two armies. Albany, seeing that after having been made the instrument of the enemies of Angus and the Humes, to turn the scale of political influence against their party; he was however not to be supported by them in any measures of government, which he himself chose to pursue; determined to divest himself of a regency, the authority of which was but nominal, and

and to retire for ever from Scotland. To this he was the rather induced, because the young King, now eleven years of age, would, after another year, be authorised, by the laws of his kingdom, to choose new guardians for himself; and was not at all likely then to continue the authority of the Regent. In the first years of Albany's regency, while the King was yet a sickly child, the prospect of the Regent's succession to the throne had seemed so strong and so near, that it was almost as if he had held a primary, not a merely vicegerent power. But his hopes of the regal succession being now set at a distance, produced, in consequence, a great diminution of that respect which his name and presence had at first commanded among the Scots. The Duke of Albany therefore solemnly resigned the Regency. The administration of the Scottish government was intrusted to other hands. After fortifying with some new works his castle of Dunbar, and promising yet to return if the necessities of the affairs of Scotland should demand his presence, Albany departed for the third time, to return no more. He was undeniably a man of high talents for government, and of singular integrity and virtue. He seems to have earnestly sought the real good of the Scottish kingdom, because it was the land of his ancestors, the kingdom of his cousin and ward,

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

SECT. I. ward, an inheritance of which he himself might
 CHAP. V. contingently become the possessor *.

A. D.

1520 to

1542.

Disorders
 in the in-
 ternal
 state of
 Scotland.

ALBANY had scarcely departed, when the Scottish chieftains, conceiving themselves fully at liberty to act as if there were no common government to restrain them. Assassinations were perpetrated, and private wars were waged, in various parts of the kingdom; nor could the King's officers prevent or punish them. The truce with England too was soon violated, first by an attack of the Scots coming peacefully to a fair at Berwick, afterwards by an unsuccessful attack of the English to retaliate that injury. The hostilities thus renewed, were yet more vigorously prosecuted on the side of the western marches, by Maxwell and Jardine, in an incursion into Cumberland, in which they and their followers were bravely opposed by the English whom they invaded; but, after a long and doubtful conflict, came off at last victorious, leaving many of the enemy, and many even of their own men, dead upon the scene of the battle. But Angus and the exiled Humes, in the mean time returned to Scotland: the influence of England became easily predominant in the Scottish councils: the friends of France were compelled to yield to those of England: and the hostilities

* Eodem quos supra, &c.

hostilities of the borders were once more brought, for a while, to an end *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

THE young King had now arrived at the full age of twelve years. The nobles of his kingdom, hoping every one for himself, that he should be soon the foremost in his Prince's favour, were all impatient to deliver him from the tuition of his mother and his preceptors, and to place him at the head of the actual functions of government. From Stirling, therefore, where he had hitherto chiefly resided, he was conducted to Edinburgh; and a parliament was summoned. The Queen, possessing great influence, as the mother of James, as the sister of Henry, possessed herself of Edinburgh-castle; and hoped still to retain in her own hands the chief authority of government. Ambassadors who now arrived from England, were courteously received; and their proposals of peace and alliance were respectfully heard. Instead, however, of obtaining the consent of the Scots to a perpetual peace with England; instead of prevailing on them to send their young King to be educated at the English court; they procured only a truce for a year to come; in the course of which it was supposed that a treaty of perpetual peace might be finally negotiated. Young James was formally placed at the head of the government; and all the officers required to fill

* Lindsay: Hume's History of the Douglasses.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1540 to
1542.

fill up the pomp of royalty, were nominated to attend in his household. His mother, obliged to submit the controul of the government to the wishes of the barons, shared her power, however reluctantly, with the Earls of Angus, Arran, Lennox, Argyle, and with the Archbishop of St Andrew's. And it was vainly hoped, that an administration into which the heads of all the different parties were thus received, might rule with firm and unanimous authority, till the King should attain to the years of perfect manhood *.

The Earl
of Angus
usurps the
whole
power of
the admini-
stration.

BUT this coalition could not last. The Queen and the Earl of Arran were quickly excluded by the rest from all official authority in the administration. For some short time, the other nobles agreed in holding, by turns, the custody of the King's person, and the chief direction of his affairs. But Angus, by the weight of his family-connections, by the superiority of his personal talents, and by the advantages he derived from the favour of the English King, was soon enabled to eclipse the authority of the rest. Getting the young King into his hands, he partly by constraint, and in part by blandishments to win his boyish kindness, detained him from the wishes and demands of the Queen-mother and the other nobles. Of those ecclesiastical benefices, within the royal gift,

* Eisdem quos supra.

gift, which now fell vacant; Angus, slighting the requests and thwarting the interests of the other ministers, bestowed the best upon his own relations, and upon men who were the creatures of his family. Throwing off all respect to the Queen, such as he owed her in the character of her husband; while she, on the other hand, now scorned and hated him; he joined with her in procuring, contrary to the earnest wishes of her brother Henry, a separation to be finally made between them, by a sentence of divorce, which was collusively sued. While the other Lords, except only the Earl of Lennox and the Archbishop of St Andrew's, retired in discontent from the Court; Angus daily went on to usurp and abuse the sovereign power, with continually increasing wantonness, and to corrupt the mind of the young Monarch, by prematurely exciting those most ardent passions of youth, which unfit the soul for manly thought and useful exertion. When, in spite of all the arts of Angus, the King shewed himself impatient of his controul, and attached himself rather to the Earl of Lennox; Angus watched, checked, and threatened Lennox, with a jealousy and violence which made Lennox unsafe, while near his Sovereign's person. To establish his authority still more and more firmly, this proud chieftain of the Douglasses continued to displace every person not of his own faction, who held any office near the King, and

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CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

SECT. I.
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A. D.
1520 to
1542.

to supply their room with his own kindred.— James thus beset and restrained, and having his discontents inflamed by some secret enemies of the Douglasses, who still found access to him; began to feel as if he were their prisoner, and became, in his heart, more passionately the enemy of Angus, than were all the nobles whose ambition this potent Earl had frustrated. To his other offences against the rest of the great men of the kingdom, Angus, in the mean time, added that of lawlessly taking possession of the Archiepiscopal castle at St Andrew's, destroying the Archbishop's household-stuff, and consuming his stores of provisions, without leave obtained, and without retribution made or offered. The Queen and the angry nobles would have taken arms to rescue James out of Angus's hands, and to overthrow the insolent prosperity of the Earl: But Angus had, if not the affection, yet the name and presence of the young King to support his cause; and this was still more than sufficient to counterbalance whatever weight of force and influence his adversaries could accumulate against him*.

AMIDST this progress of events, and in this state of the oppositions of political faction and intrigue, the energy of government was necessarily relaxed, and many violations of the peace were, in the confidence

* Lindsay, 205, 206: Lesly: Buchanan, &c.

fidence of impunity, daringly committed in all parts of the kingdom. To restrain these on the borders, Angus now, instead of Albany, Warden at least of the eastern marches ; repaired, with the King in his company, to hold a Justiciary-Court at Jedburgh. The licences of the borderers were by the stern energy of his judgements punished and restrained ; but his enemies complained, that he had not so much distributed justice, as obeyed his own resentments and those of his friends, in the awarding of unjust severities against those who were by any means obnoxious to the faction of the Douglases. However this might be, while the chieftains of the borders resorted to express their duty to their Sovereign ; James found opportunities of secretly signifying his impatience to escape out of Angus's custody. Scot of Buccleugh*, the most powerful of the border-chieftains, that was not a creature of Angus, received James's secret orders to attempt to rescue him. Fierce and martial ; hating Angus ; proud to receive the commands of his Sovereign ; hopeful even of rising to supplant the potent Earl ; and liking nothing so well as that disorderly fighting to which he and his clan were accustomed : Scot mustered eagerly a thousand men, the strength of Liddisdale and Annandale ; and, in obedience to the King's secret commands, awaiting the time when the Humes and the Kers had returned from escorting Angus on his

SECT. I.
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A. D.
1520 to
1542.

Unsuccessful attempt by Scot of Buccleugh to rescue James.

M 2

way

* Properly Balcleugh.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

way homeward; came unexpectedly up with the company of the Earl, at Halidonhill, not far from Melrose. Angus no sooner saw Scot with his followers approach, than he suspected their purpose, and sent to demand the reason of their coming.— That *he came to shew his Sovereign, how many brave men he had ready to obey his commands,*—was the answer of Scot. Commanded to retire, he obstinately refused. Angus then seeing that he must fight for the custody of his Sovereign's person, or else relinquish it; left the King under the protection of a small guard, with Erskine his preceptor, Lennox his friend, and some few others, who did not choose to fight in Angus's quarrel; and, with the rest of his company, reinforced by the returning Humes and Kers, went to compel, by force of arms, the departure of Scot, and to chastise his insolence. At sight of this serious opposition, Scot's Annandale men, more accustomed to steal than to fight, quickly turned their backs and fled. Scot himself, with his own kindred, bravely maintained their ground, fighting gallantly till about eighty of their number had fallen. At last, they too were scattered in flight; and the Douglasses, the Humes, and the Kers, followed furiously after. Not a few were cut off in the pursuit; and it was continued till Ker of Cessford, with some others of the pursuers, were slain by the rallying Scots; upon which the pursuers, unwilling

willing to risk their safety farther, returned. The King and Angus, after revisiting Jedburgh, and remaining there for some days, came without farther danger or delay to the ordinary seat of government at Edinburgh. Angus exulted in his victory. But it served only to provoke those friends to the King, by whom Scot's attempt had been encouraged, to engage in new and bolder measures of opposition to this usurper of the royal power *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

THE Court had not long returned to Edinburgh, when the Earl of Lennox retired from it in disgust. He went to execute, not without the King's concurrence, a new scheme which was concerted for his deliverance out of the hands of Angus. But Angus's talents for intrigue, were not inferior to his ambition. Deserted by Lennox, whom he had before contrived to divide from Arran and the other nobles; he, without loss of time, solicited and obtained a renewal of Arran's friendship. Lennox in the mean time took up arms; and obtaining the powerful support of the Cunninghams and Kennedies, and being assisted by the intrigues of Bishop Beaton and of the Queen; was advancing with an army of not fewer than ten thousand men, to rescue his Sovereign out of the hands of those in whose custody he was at present unwillingly detained. Angus, aware of his

Attempts
of Lennox
equally
frustrated.

* Lindsay, 209, 210, &c.

SECT. I. his approach, marched out of Edinburgh, with a
 CHAP. V. considerable force to meet him. The Hamiltons,

A. D. who also had taken arms at Angus's request,
 1520 to
 1542— seized the bridge over the Avon near Linlithgow,
 and compelled Lennox to seek a passage by a ford
 at some distance above. Some hours after Angus
 had set out from Edinburgh, his brother George,
 threatening that the Douglasses would tear the
 young King in pieces in the struggle, rather than
 suffer Lennox to ravish him from them; forced
 James to follow reluctantly into the battle against
 his favourite who had come to rescue him. Be-
 tween the Hamiltons and the followers of Lennox,
 the battle was already begun, when the Earl of
 Angus came up. He joined with ardent rage:
 For some time it was on both sides obstinately
 maintained. At last, Lennox himself being
 wounded, made prisoner by the *Laird* of Pardovan,
 and disarmed, was then, in cold blood, basely
 assassinated by Sir James Hamilton, the natural
 son of Arran. The followers of Lennox fled in
 confusion, and suffered a great and cruel slaughter.
 The King, after delaying the party with whom he
 rode, till they were informed that the battle was
 won, and that the followers of Lennox fled; then
 came eagerly up to save, if possible, the life at
 least of Lennox himself. He came too late. Sir
 Andrew Wood, by the King's command, with
 difficulty saved Cunningham of Kilmaurs, and
 some

some few others, from the fury of the victorious Hamiltons and Douglasses. Arran himself, the uncle of Lennox, sorrowed bitterly over his own victory. Being but a weak-minded man, he had been drawn in by the intrigues of others, to arm himself against the strength of his own family, and had unwarily cut off his sister's son, at that time his own apparent heir. The Douglasses, on the other hand, flushed with this second success, exerted themselves with a high and unsparing hand against their enemies. The Queen-mother, who had taken part in the councils of Lennox, was forced to wander about for some time in a low disguise, in order to escape her late husband's vengeance. Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who had brought the men of Fife to join Lennox's army, was also compelled to skulk for a time under the guise of a shepherd. Even the King was mute before the threats and reproaches of the Douglasses, and could not help entertaining fears for his personal safety *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1540 to
1542.

In these circumstances, while the success of all the measures undertaken by Angus and his party, began to tempt them to a degree of heedless security; James, becoming continually more desirous to escape out of their hands, concerted and pursued his designs for this end with a profound and vigilant dissimulation,

of

* Lindfay: Lesly: Buchanan: Hume's History of the Douglasses.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

of which so young a man might well have been supposed incapable. Beaton, after he had duly humbled himself before his enemies, having been received again into their favour, was visited at St Andrew's by Angus and his kinsmen, with the King in their company. Here they spent some time amidst great festivities, in the amusements of hunting and hawking for which the vicinity presented some very inviting scenes, and in the enjoyment of that courteous hospitality with which the good Bishop magnificently entertained them. At length Angus himself was, by the necessities of his affairs, called away into Lothian, but left still about the King his uncle and his brother, with others of their kindred. From St Andrew's, James, with these attendants who still remained about him, soon after passed to Falkland. While they lingered here, George Douglas, the brother of Angus, went also to pass some days at St Andrew's or elsewhere; and Archibald, their uncle, and treasurer to the King, passed over on his private affairs to Dundee. James Douglas of Parkhead, the natural son of Angus's grandfather, and an hundred other gentlemen, were still left to guard and attend upon the King. James not having for a long time *before*, seen himself so negligently watched by the Douglasses; secretly resolved to seize the opportunity, and make another attempt to escape

out

out of their hands. Making as if he intended, on a particular day, to go out upon a grand hunting-match, he commanded many of the gentry of the contiguous parts of Fife to be called out to attend him, against that day, with their dogs, and otherwise arrayed for the hunting. Then, while the minds of his household were occupied with the thought of the sports of the ensuing morn, he, on the evening before the day appointed for the hunting, retired at an early hour to his chamber; dismissed also James Douglas and the other gentlemen, who were in attendance upon him at the same time, to their chambers; and, with great seeming earnestness, requested them to rouse him early in the morning; affecting to talk with sanguine expectations of the sport which the chase was to afford them. In the mean time, he had secretly engaged a groom belonging to the stables, and a page of his chamber, to attend him as soon as all within the palace should appear to have retired to rest. Assuming the disguise of a stable-boy, he mounted his horse, and, with the two youths whom alone he had intrusted with his secret, taking the way for Stirling, rode on with such impatient speed, that, before the break of day, he had crossed the Forth by Stirling-bridge, and been received beyond the reach of the Douglasses, within Stirling-castle, where every thing had been for some time ready for his reception, in conse-

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.
A. D.
1520 to
1542.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

quence of a secret correspondence which he had found means to carry on with his mother's servants in that castle. The castle still belonged to the Queen-dowager as a part of her dowry ; and to her, or to her husband Henry Stewart, nothing could be more grateful than thus to see Angus's pride at once overthrown by the escape of the young King out of his custody *.

Surprise
and first
measures
of Angus.

In the mean time, the attendants whom the King had left behind at Falkland, in vain knocked at their Sovereign's chamber-door, at an early hour in the morning, to call him up to the chace. None opened ; none answered ; when the door was burst open, the King was not there. Some said he had gone out upon a nocturnal visit to some mistress : others who came in from the country, affirmed that he was by this time beyond the bridge of Stirling. George Douglas had returned from St Andrew's at a late hour on the preceding evening : Archibald Douglas arrived on the morning from Dundee : And a messenger was sent to recall Angus himself from Edinburgh. Ere Angus came, the whole truth of this event, that was to put an end to his usurpation, was fully known at Falkland. After some uncertain and anxious consultation, concerning the steps which it was now proper for them to take, Angus, with his friends and kindred, set out after the King towards Stirling.

* Lesly : Lindsay : Buchanan ; Drummond : Hume.

ling. They had entered the town, but had not obtained admission into the castle, when a herald sent from the King, made proclamation at the market-cross, that none of them should, under pain of high treason, approach within six miles of the place of their Sovereign's residence. Hearing this proclamation, Angus, who already wavered in his purposes, would not adventure to exasperate the young Monarch's wrath, by forcing himself into his presence, contrary to his own commands, but retiring with his company to Linlithgow, soon went thence to Edinburgh, and there endeavoured so to strengthen himself, that he might yet obtain no unfavourable terms from the King, and from the rest of his enemies *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1543.

THE King, now at liberty, summoned without delay, all those of his barons who were not of the party of Angus, to attend him at Stirling. In eager obedience to this summons, the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athole, Glencairn, Monteith, Rothes, and Eglinton; the Lords Graham, Livingston, Lindsay, Sinclair, Ruthven, Drummond, Evandale, Maxwell, and Semple, with the Archbishop of St Andrew's, and a multitude of inferior gentlemen, resorted to the King at Stirling, on the second day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven. James

Forfeiture
and exile
of the
Douglasses.

N 2

then

* Eodem.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

then meeting these his barons in solemn assembly, under the forms of parliament, addressed them in a warm and passionate speech; in which, after bitterly complaining of the restraint which Angus had put upon his person, and of the wanton insolence with which the Earl and his kindred had usurped the royal authority; he concluded with vowing,—*Scotland shall not hold us both, till I be revenged of him and his!* These accusations and complaints were not addressed to men who desired to exculpate the Douglasses, and uphold their power; but to the mortal foes of that insolent house. It was instantly resolved, that Angus and his friends should be formally divested of all their offices, and should be summoned to surrender themselves into custody, that they might undergo, before their peers, a trial for the crimes of which they were accused. News being received, that Angus was ready at Edinburgh with a considerable force to resist the King's authority: James, with his barons, and a force of more than two thousand men, instantly set out from Stirling to oppose the rising rebellion. Angus, reluctant to employ his arms actually against his Sovereign, and finding his force to be inferior to that with which James came against him, retired at the King's approach. A parliament, more numerous than that which had recently assembled at Stirling, now met at Edinburgh. Angus, summoned to his trial for crimes

crimes of high treason, appeared not; and was, with his brother George, his uncle Archibald, and some others of his principal friends, condemned in absence, to suffer the usual forfeiture and corporeal punishment awarded by the laws against treason. Henry Stewart, husband to the Queen-dowager, was at the same time gratified with the honours and lands of the lordship of Methven, and was nominated *Captain of the King's artillery* *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1540 to
1549.

ANGUS, with his kindred and partizans, now retired to those southern districts of which they were almost entirely masters: And, while the Earl himself, with his brother George, hastened into England, probably to request the interposition of King Henry between them and their own Sovereign; Archibald their uncle, with other chief men of the party, fortified themselves against their King in the castle of Tantallon. James indignantly followed the rebels into those places in which they had sought refuge. Tantallon, alone, a place of extraordinary strength, protected them from his fury. Against it, he marched with all his military vassals from the middle and eastern counties; procured from the castle of Dunbar, the artillery which had been there left by the Duke of Albany; and invested and battered the castle of Tantallon for

Angus's
rebellion
quelled.

* Lindsay: Lesly: Hume's History of the Douglasses, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A D.
1520 to
1542.

for the space of twenty days, with the utmost activity and vigour, yet without mastering the strength of the fortifications, or the firm resistance of the garrison. After a fruitless siege of twenty days, James was obliged to relinquish, for the time, an enterprise in which all his passions were so earnestly engaged. As his forces retired, Douglas making a sally from the castle upon those who remained to carry off the artillery, defeated them with considerable slaughter. James had been compelled to retire; but, he had not finally given up the design of the siege. The castle was again blocked by his command; and he resolved at least to starve the garrison into submission, if they might not otherwise be mastered. At the same time, to SIMEON PANNANGO, Angus's lieutenant, offers of pardon for himself and his own friends who were not Douglasses, on the condition of the surrender of the castle, were communicated from the King. Pannango, faithful to his trust, yet beginning to be straitened for necessaries, would agree to no capitulation, till he should have first asked new supplies from Angus. The supplies he wanted, Angus could not in his exile furnish; nor could they have been introduced into a castle, which was again on all hands closely invested, even if it had been possible for the Earl to send them in full abundance. In these difficulties, Pannango at last consented to yield up the castle to the King, with all its military stores; and

and upon this condition, was himself, with the garrison, permitted to depart from it free and unmolested, and to carry with them all their goods, and all the other furniture of the castle, save its ammunition and military stores. Those of the faction of the Douglasses, who had still hovered upon the borders, now hastened into England. The contest was now over : and Angus was no longer to lord it haughtily over his fellow-subjects, or to usurp the custody of the person of his King *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

JAMES having thus assumed the reins of government into his own hands ; and having, by the vigour of his proceedings against the Douglasses, evinced that, notwithstanding his youth, he was not unfit to exercise the energies of administration ; now summoned anew his parliament ; appointed other officers to succeed those who had been displaced in consequence of their attachment to Angus ; and, by the advice of his barons, prepared to make a justiciary progress through his kingdom. The southern counties, of which the inhabitants had been attached to the Douglasses, and their partizans the Humes and Hepburns, and were besides ever disorderly and lawless in their habits of life ; first required the presence of their King, there to enforce the terror of his government, and the authority of his laws. Tantallon-castle, wrested from Angus,

James's
first acts in
the distribution
of
justice.

* Lesly : Lindsay : Buchanan.

SECT. I. Angus, was garrisoned by a considerable force
CHAP. V. for the King, under the command of Oliver Sin-

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

clair. Into the Merse and Tiviotdale, James proceeded with all the gaiety of a hunting-expedition, and with a force sufficient to command due respect to his presence. Before him all was submission, obedience, and eagerly proffered duty. Several of the chieftains on the borders were, notwithstanding their professions, sent for a time into confinement : And their lawless vassals, who had been accustomed alike in times of peace and in times of war, to levy contributions, indifferently on Scots and on Englishmen, were, without any weak unseasonable mercy, made to undergo those rigorous punishments which could alone repress their crimes, and strike an awe into the spirits of their fellows. Among these were the clan of the Armstrongs, with JOHN ARMSTRONG of Gillnocky, their chief. ARMSTRONG, a man of singular bodily strength, intrepidity, and address ; inhabiting a castle seated on a rock, that was on three sides washed by the river Esk, and was on the fourth defended by a deep trench ; accustomed from infancy to that incessant and pillaging warfare, which was exercised upon the confines between Scotland and England ; and having, amidst this warfare, learned to slight the laws of both kingdoms, and to make the subjects of both, tributaries alike to his robber-rapacity ; had thus become obnoxious, no less to the
Scots

Scots than to the English. His clan, as sharing his bold crimes, and being obedient to his commands, were no less than he, the objects of general fear and hatred. While he raised contributions from the inhabitants of Northumberland and Cumberland, he equally levied a tribute from the Scots in Tiviotdale, Annandale, and Nithsdale. To Maxwell of Caerlaverock, particularly, he made himself even formidable; and Maxwell's late services had been so great, that the King was naturally disposed to gratify him by any means which might at the same time essentially contribute to the best ends of public justice. Armstrong was therefore artfully enticed to obey the King's summons to attend him; which, conscious as he was of his crimes, he would otherwise probably have slighted, had he not been amused with hopes of rewards and honours, instead of punishment. But, scarcely had he appeared in James's presence, when the King already prepared to send him to immediate trial and execution; commanded in anger, that he should be carried away into instant confinement. Armstrong, confounded at a reception so different from that which he had been taught to expect, now sued in vain for his Sovereign's grace, and made even magnificent offers in order to purchase his pardon. He would hold himself, with forty men in arms, ever ready to execute his Sovereign's commands, without asking

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1580 to
1581.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

any new fief, and without ever harming any Scottish man. He would bring any man, high or low, into the King's presence, either dead or alive, within a fixed time after the date of the command by which he should be sent upon such a service: When he perceived that all his submissions and his offers were vain; *It is folly*, said he, with indignation, *to seek grace at a graceless face!* and then, without farther humiliation, shrinking, or complaint, he met his fate. With him also perished by the hand of justice, his followers, the principal men of his clan, to the number of thirty-six persons. James having, by these and other instances of stern and rigorous justice, restored order upon the borders, returned back with his attendants to Edinburgh. It is not improbable but the punishment of Armstrong, and some of the other border-chiefs, might be inflicted with the greater severity, on account of their hasty desertion of Scot of Buccleugh, in the unsuccessful attempt he had made to rescue the King out of the hands of Angus, near Melrose. The chief of the Johnstons, too, whose seat was then at the castle of Tundergarth, was about the same time, in obedience to the King's commands, slain by Scot of Buccleugh*.

THE summer was now too far spent to afford time


* Lindsay: Lesly: Buchanan.

time for James to continue his justiciary progress, upon this year, throughout the rest of his kingdom. He passed the winter chiefly at the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling; giving his time partly to the duties of his kingly office, and in part to those pleasures to which he was naturally prompted and solicited by his youth and the circumstances of his fortune. Upon the return of spring, he was again induced, by his attention to the administration of justice, and by his passion for the sports of the chase, to make a progress into the northern parts of his kingdom, as he had before visited the southern. At Methven, the husband of his mother was ready to receive and entertain him. But a more magnificent entertainment, perhaps than had yet been exhibited in Scotland, was prepared for him and his Court at the Blair of Athole. James was attended by the Pope's Legate; and the entertainment was intended not less to gratify that foreigner, and to do honour to Scotland in his eyes, than for the purpose of amusing the young King. In Athole-forest, whither the King and his company went a-hunting, a spacious seat of wooden stakes, interwoven with green boughs, and raised to a magnificent height, was hastily reared. Without, the situation and the access were made precisely such as if it had been some stately castle. Within, it was hung with tapestry and curtains of silk; while windows of glass, at

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1543.

Festivities
at Blair of
Athole.

SECT. I. suitable distances in the walls, served to illumina-
 CHAP. V.  ate it. The provision of meats and wines, for

A. D.
 1520 to
 1542.

the entertainment of the illustrious guests, was sumptuous and delicate above what it might have been thought possible for Scotland at that time to afford. For three days and three nights, the hunting-expedition, and the festivities of this sumptuous bower, were joyfully prolonged, at not less than a thousand pounds a-day of expence to the Earl of Athole, the liberal and magnificent entertainer. No sooner was it deserted by the princely company returning homeward ; than, to the astonishment of the Italians, that fairy palace was set on fire by Athole's servants, and at his command ; and it was seen to be reduced to ashes, ere they had gone beyond sight of the scene where they had enjoyed such a profusion of all the varied and costly gifts of luxury. But it was usual for the Highlanders of this age, often to erect such temporary buildings in the woods, and still in the same manner to set them on fire, when they themselves were about to go elsewhere *.

James re-
 turns
 home by
 Stirling.

FROM the Blair of Athole, James, with his Court, returned that evening to Dunkeld. He then, in like manner, visited the towns of Perth and Dundee ; and, from the latter, passed over to St Andrew's. In St Andrew's he was for some time sumptuously

* Lindsay, 226, 227, 228.

sumptuously entertained, by Beaton Archbishop of the see, and Hepburn prior of the monastery. SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

About the return of winter, he took up his residence at the castle of Stirling. Here he continued to apply himself still more and more to the management of state-affairs. He had emancipated himself from that involuntary tutelage in which Angus strove to detain him: He had punished the revolt of the Douglasses, and driven them into exile: He had, by a seasonable activity, and by salutary examples of rigorous punishment inflicted on the violators of the public peace, impressed upon the disorderly an useful awe of his administration. It was now time that he should turn himself to study more particularly the relations of foreign policy; and should learn, who of all those nations, by which Scotland was more nearly or more remotely surrounded, were the most to be courted as friends to Scotland; who were to be disregarded as unable either to serve or injure the Scots; and against whom it might become necessary for him to lead his subjects in arms. A. D.
1520 to
1542.

THROUGHOUT all Europe, those changes of policy, and that increase of national intercourse, State of
Europe. which were gradually to combine the states of Europe into one grand political system, had for some time continued rapidly to advance.

THE

SECT. I. THE growing empire of Muscovy had not yet
 CHAP. V. introduced itself into the system of the political
 A. D. intercourse of the great nations in the middle and
 1520 to the south of Europe. Its dominions already
 1542. Muscovy. stretched from the confines of Persia, to the European shores of the northern ocean. With the Poles, the Danes, and the Swedes, the Sovereigns of Muscovy occasionally contended, or carelessly cultivated some of the relations of peace. The subjects of the Czar were, like the feudal nobility of all Europe, an irregular army, enjoying their lands as their pay. On almost all hands, but especially over the savages upon their northern and eastern confines, they had begun to make extensive conquests. But commerce had not yet found its way into their seas. They were almost strangers to the existence of the nations in the south of Europe. Those commercial intercourses with England had not yet taken place, which were gradually to invite the Muscovite Monarchs to transfer the seat of their government towards the south-west limits of their territories ; and were to teach them to aspire to be numbered rather among the great civilised Powers of Europe, than among the barbarian despots of Asia, with whom alone they had been ranked so long.—To the Scots, notwithstanding their northern navigation and traffic, the very existence of the MUSCOVITES could hardly be at this time known. It was impossible that
 James,

James, while he turned his eyes upon foreign nations, should make Muscovy even for a moment the object of his regard.

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1541.

THE contiguous kingdoms of SWEDEN, DEN- Sweden, MARK, and NORWAY, were nearer in local situa- Denmark, and Nor- tion, and much more connected in political and way. commercial intercourse with Scotland, and with the middle and southern countries of Europe. Those times were long past, when the NORSE- MEN from these three countries ; then scattered in a number of independent tribes, hardly combined by any bonds of civil policy ; had descended in their famous expeditions to plunder, and sometimes to subdue and colonize, the coasts of *Ireland, Britain, Germany, and France*. A long train of those dissensions, wars, and revolutions, which ever prevail among savage and barbarian tribes ; had gradually distributed those barbarians into the three monarchies of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden ; had altogether withdrawn them from seafaring adventure ; and had fixed them in a state of feudal policy which differed from the feodism of the rest of Europe, only in preserving to the peasantry, a species of freedom not unlike to that which the peasants of England had enjoyed under the old Anglo-Saxon government. Amidst the events which, by their progress, brought the inhabitants of those three northern

SECT. I. northern countries into this political situation; and
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1542.

in the course of those which ensued from it; the Danes, the Norwegians, and the Swedes, came to be connected in a sort of political system of their own, and engaged in incessant warfare among themselves. At length, in the end of the fourteenth century, Margaret, the daughter of Walde-mar King of Denmark, united all the three kingdoms, by succession and conquest, under herself, as their Queen. Sweden soon withdrew itself from under the dominion of her successors; but Norway was to remain ever after subject to the Danish Crown. The efforts of the Swedes to maintain their national independence, had, just about this period, been crowned with final success, under the conduct of *Gustavus Ericson*, whose heroic patriotism they rewarded by seating him upon their throne. Christiern the Second, brother-in-law to the Emperor of Germany Charles the Fifth, and brother to the grandmother of the young King of Scotland, had been deposed from the throne of Denmark; while his uncle, the Duke of Holstein, had been exalted to the Sovereignty from which Christiern was expelled.—In these circumstances of these three northern kingdoms, James could not be disposed, from motives of family-affection, to cultivate the friendship of either of their Monarchs. He had little to fear from either; for they had long

long relinquished all views of distant conquest, for the sake of commercial intercourse ; it might still be his interest to restrain his subjects from any hostilities against the Danes. The mouth of the Baltic sea naturally invited the navigation of the seafaring Scots, particularly from Elgin and Dundee. In their fisheries, too, the Scots might be easily interrupted and harrassed by the Danish and Norwegian mariners, who were in great numbers continually engaged in the fishing of the northern seas, as well as the Scots.

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THE conquerors of the western empire of Germany. Rome, had been at first, by the varied circumstances of their conquests, naturally divided into a number of kingdoms and states. The illustrious Charlemagne, who, in the ninth century, aspired with wonderful success to restore the Roman empire, and to exalt himself to be successor of the Cæsars ; by his victories, once more combined GERMANY, Gaul, and Italy, under one system of dominion. But, this empire was too extensive to be held together, and duly governed, by any means of power and administration which could be employed in so barbarous an age. A partition of those vast dominions among the grandsons of Charlemagne, left all GERMANY subject to one Sovereign ; while it assigned France to another ; and

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reserved Italy still in a precarious subjection to the GERMAN Crown. In the course of the succeeding centuries, the Barons of the GERMAN empire, *Counts, Margraves, and Dukes*, gradually exalted themselves,—by means of circumstances peculiar to the feudal government, to the local nature of Germany, and to the extent of the GERMAN empire,—into a state in which they were almost independent of the Imperial Throne. While the great fiefs became hereditary, the empire itself became elective; events by which the power of the nobility was still augmented, and that of the Emperor himself enfeebled and debased. Farther to diminish the Imperial authority, a number of free towns gradually, in a country so extensive, rose to a condition in which they were no less independent than the greater nobility.—Such was still the condition of the GERMAN empire. It was a combination of principalities under one common head; who had, however, no power to compress them into one coherent body, or to make them either separately, or in combination, duly obedient to his commands.—But, the Emperor contemporary with James the Fifth of Scotland, was Charles the Fifth, who, besides the shadowy power and honours of the Imperial Crown, enjoyed the immediate and hereditary dominion of all the maritime provinces of GERMAN Y lying opposite to Scotland; and was at the same

same time Monarch of the opulent kingdom of SECT. I.
CHAP. V. SPAIN. In his hands, the Imperial Sceptre became more than a mere rod ; the Imperial Crown A. D.
1520 to
1542. more than a mere bauble. His hereditary dominions within the empire enabled him to enforce all the rights of the Imperial authority. His personal activity in some manner annihilated the intervening countries, which detached his widely-scattered dominions ; and concentrated their energies as if they had been placed together. The *Reformation of Religion* in GERMANY, afforded him a pretext for employing his power against the great vassals of the GERMAN empire ; which, if he had not been then harassed and distracted by the necessities of his other affairs, might have enabled him to reduce all the Princes of that empire to a condition of real, and greatly humbled vassalage. The grandeur of Charles's power, and the activity and artfulness of his ambition, drew the eyes of all Europe particularly upon him. It was impossible that James's notice should not be more or less attracted to so splendid an object. It was necessary, for the sake of the navigation, the fishery, and the other traffic of his subjects, that he should suffer no slight matter to draw upon him the wrath of the Sovereign of the Netherlands.

FRANCE, the other great division of the empire France.

SECT. I. of Charlemagne, had, through a long series of
 CHAP. V. revolutions, wars, invasions, foreign expeditions,
 A. D. victories, defeats, discords, and reconciliations,
 1520 to arrived, at last, chiefly by the valour of Charles
 1542. the Seventh, and the policy of Lewis the Eleventh, at a condition in which it was already the most powerful Monarchy in Europe. Charles the Seventh had driven the English out of France; Lewis the Eleventh humbled and cut off those too potent vassals among his nobility, whose power was too formidable to the Crown; and who were almost ready to make the Kings of France, as much nominal Sovereigns, as were the Emperors of Germany. The subsequent wars between France and Spain, on account of the pretensions of both Sovereigns to the same Italian dominions, and on account of that enmity which was naturally kindled up between the two nations, by the circumstances of their neighbourhood at the Pyrenees; were prosecuted with increasing earnestness of rage and of effort, after Charles had ascended the Spanish throne, and after Francis the First had mounted that of France. Francis, disappointed in the competition against Charles, for the imperial dignity, was still the more excited to oppose his triumphant competitor in incessant war. While Charles trusted the conduct of his armies to his generals, Francis took the field in person. At Pavia in Italy, he was defeated in a great battle.

and

and was himself made prisoner. This important event, happening just about the æra at which James of Scotland emancipated himself from the oppressive tuition of Angus ; could not but strongly awaken the compassion of the Scots in favour of a person of such a gallant knightly character as Francis ; the King of a nation which had been from time immemorial the ally of their ancestors and of them.—Since the English had been expelled out of France ; since they appeared to have relinquished their ancient views toward the conquest of Scotland ; since a matrimonial alliance had taken place between the two royal families of Scotland and of England ; there no longer existed the same strong necessities as formerly, to constrain the Scots and the French to embrace one another as the dearest allies. Yet, ancient prejudice and affection, the unextinguished remains of ancient enmities, and the enlarged views of general policy and national intercourse, which were now beginning to be more and more entertained throughout Europe, were still sufficient to prevent the French from flighting the alliance of the Scots, and to induce the Scots still to cling eagerly to that of France. James, therefore, did not fail to take an eager interest in the grand continental war between Francis and Charles, and could not avoid lamenting the misfortunes, and eagerly desiring the success of the former.

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SPAIN,

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Spain.

SPAIN, the kingdom of Charles, formed from the gradual combination of a number of petty kingdoms, into which the territories of Spain had been divided; enriched by the adventures of a distant navigation, and by the discovery of a new world; reduced by the vigour and address of Ximenes, and by the skilful management of Charles, into a state in which its nobles and its people were subject to almost absolute authority; was too remote to attract the particular notice, or to have any influence upon the interests of Scotland, otherwise than as its King was also Emperor of Germany, and immediate Sovereign of the Netherlands.

Portugal. PORTUGAL, one of those small kingdoms which had arisen within that extent of territory which was anciently comprehended in Spain; had not, like the rest, been as yet united with that one considerable Monarchy, in which *they* were now all included. The Portuguese had long since been led, by their vicinity to Africa, and their constant wars with the Moors, to turn their attention in a particular manner to maritime affairs; to launch out from the Mediterranean sea, into the *Atlantic* ocean; and to explore the western coasts of Africa. Their voyages of discovery in the Atlantic ocean, and along the African coasts, had been

been continued, till they discovered countries and islands rich with various commodities, which, when imported into Portugal, were valued as the materials of a new wealth, that was to make this narrow country the wonder and envy of all Europe. One success still led to another; and the Portuguese boldly passed at last from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean, and carried their navigation and their commerce to the coasts of Hindostan. Their commerce with India made them for a time the richest of all the European nations. It was while this commerce was at its height, that their attack upon the ship of *Andrew Barton* of Leith, provoked him to seek reprisals under his Sovereign's authority. But the quarrel of Barton seems to have been now forgotten; and it does not appear that the Scots had at this time any intercourse, whether of friendship or of amity, with the Portuguese.

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ITALY, stretching out into the MEDITERRANEAN sea, at a vast distance from Scotland, had, after its conquest by Charlemagne, experienced a similar fate as GERMANY, in respect to the arrangements of political power and civil establishments, among its inhabitants. It was divided among great vassals, into a number of dukedoms and principalities; which, in consequence of the remoteness

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remoteness of the seat of the Emperor, and of his inability to maintain his authority, soon aspired to the rank of independent Sovereignities. Around its sea-coasts, too, there had arisen a number of commercial cities, most of which subsisted in the condition of independent republics. The *Genoese*, so rich and powerful in the time of the crusades, had even now a great maritime force, and an extensive and opulent commerce. *Venice*, long enriched by the traffic with the inhabitants on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, by whom the manufactures and productions of the distant regions of *Hindustan* and *China* were transmitted into their hands; had but lately begun to experience a diminution of the immense profits of their traffic, in consequence of the bold adventures of the Portuguese navigators, and the new tract by which these had found their way to seize the riches of India. *Florence*, rich and splendid by the commerce of its merchants, and the pecuniary transactions of its usurers and bankers, was now adorned by the taste, genius, and magnificence, and perhaps depressed by the tyranny, of the illustrious *Medici*. *Rome*, once a seat of civil and military empire, was still the throne of a Papal power, which held all Europe subject to its spiritual dominion. The government of the Imperial city, almost relinquished into the hands of the Pontiffs, even before the last overthrow of the Roman empire, had, amidst all the

the ravages of the Barbarian invaders of Italy, never been wholly wrested from them. But those same fierce and turbulent barons, who were ever ready to vindicate their independence, even against the Imperial arms, often failed to respect the peaceful authority and spiritual thunders of the Holy Father. Insecure, and without authority in Rome, the Popes had for a while retired in a sort of exile to France. They had returned, at the earnest solicitation of the Italians, and the Papal Court was now seated at Rome in its most august majesty and splendour. The patrimonial territories of the Holy See were extensive. The Papal authority was fully established at Rome: In remote countries, the Papal authority was even more profoundly revered, and more respectfully obeyed, than in Italy: And an immense tribute was poured out of almost all lands, by ten thousand different channels, into the treasury of the Pontificate.—But, the natural pretensions of the German Emperor, as the Lord Paramount of Italy; the contest between the royal houses of *Anjou* and *Arrogon* for the inheritance of the kingdom of Naples; and the endless and intricate intrigues of the Italians themselves; had made Italy a scene of warfare and of bloodshed; in which the Spaniards, Germans, and French, had now long contended. The defeat of the French, and the captivity of their Monarch, left the Germans and Spaniards

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for a time masters in Italy; and Rome was soon to be sacked by them, and the Pope himself to be made their prisoner. James and the Scots could not but turn their eyes with eager and anxious attention towards Italy. The clergy of Scotland, as of all Christendom, were deeply interested in whatever might befall the Sovereign Pontiff, as well by superstitious veneration for his name and dignity, as on account of the numberless references to him, which continually arose from the whole system of their ecclesiastical establishment. Besides, his present fate, and that of all Italy, were intimately connected with the progress of the contest between Francis and Charles, which drew the earnest regard of every surrounding Prince and nation, but in a particular manner that of the Scots.

Switzer-
land, Sa-
voy, &c.

THE SWISS and the SAVOYARDS, the inhabitants of the mountains and valleys of the Alps; the HUNGARIANS and POLES, and other nations situated upon the inland confines between Europe and Asia; were too remote to have attracted the notice of the Scots. The Savoyards and Swiss were unavoidably entangled, and absorbed into the vortex of the wars between the German Emperor and the French King. The Hungarians were the subjects of Charles's brother Ferdinand. The Poles entered

tered with the Russians, Danes, and Swedes, into the political system of the North ; but could have at this time little or no influence upon the fortunes of the nations of the South.

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BUT, above all that related to these states and kingdoms, it concerned James to study chiefly the power of that nation which possessed the southern portion of the same isle with his own subjects, and to acquaint himself with the temper, views, and interests of its Monarch. England, after many wars, foreign and intestine, was now in a condition eminently flourishing and happy. Her Sovereign had indeed squandered away the treasures accumulated by his father ; but the profusion of those treasures had, as it were, oiled anew the springs and wheels of industry. He engaged, not from necessity, but out of vanity, in various unprofitable continental wars ; but these wars never affected deeply the very existence of the state. His caprices occasioned many acts of injustice and cruelty ; but the steady maintenance of public order, and the distribution of justice, during his reign, when compared with those evils which had ravaged and distracted England during so many of the preceding reigns ; cannot but appear to have made his government, in the whole, eminently beneficial to the national prosperity of his subjects.

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That

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That eternal jealousy, naturally arising in the minds of the Scots and English, because they were neighbouring and independent nations, of which the one still threatened to swallow up the other ; had, ever since the accession of James the First to the Scottish throne, continued to be insensibly softened, although it could not be wholly effaced. The Kings of England and their ministers, were now beginning to learn rather to govern the Scots by policy and intrigue ; than to harass them by war, and to menace the overthrow of their national independence, by conquering invasion. James, as the nephew of Henry, had just reason to mingle the regards of private affection, with the views of public policy, in studying the interests of Scotland, in respect to its connections and intercourse with England.

Disposition of the
Scottish
Court.

SUCH, then, was the state of the surrounding kingdoms and nations of Europe, at the time when James the Fifth of Scotland, approaching in years to perfect manhood, and even premature in the energies of his understanding, assumed into his own hands the reigns of government, and prepared to conduct for himself the foreign and domestic affairs of his kingdom. Only Denmark, Flanders, France, Italy, and England, could attract his notice, on account of any enmities or amities

amities which he should have reason to cultivate with them. France and England were the only two countries with which it was impossible for the Scots not to be either friends or enemies. To Rome also, indeed, it was still almost necessary to submit, with abject and implicit reverence, as to the voice and to the arm of Heaven. Since the death of James the Fourth, the English influence had acquired a new ascendancy on the Scottish councils, which threatened to overbalance that of France, once all-powerful. But the fall of Angus, and the refuge which he and his partizans found in England, promised to counteract those other causes which had, of late, inclined the rulers of Scotland to the English interests *.

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1542.

FROM England, however, came about this time, an embassy to congratulate James, and to invite him to enter into an intimacy of correspondence with the English Monarch, such as might become their near relation to one another, and might mutually promote the welfare of their respective subjects. Answers, at least courteous and obliging, if not sufficiently explicit, were returned to the proposals. His ambassadors were entertained at the Scottish Court, with whatever of magnificent and sumptuous hospitality it could display. But

* Lindsay: Lesly: Buchanan: Hume's History of the Douglasses.

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But Angus and his companions had been received with a degree of favour which could not but be unpleasing to James ; for Henry, having ever found them adverse to the French interests in Scotland, and hostile to the Duke of Albany, still esteemed and protected them, as men devoted to his interests, and well qualified to serve him. Whatever commands the English ambassador might be charged with, in favour of those exiles, could not be heard at the Scottish Court with patience, although they might not be answered with angry disrespect. James, in return, dispatched ambassadors to the English Court, whose chief commission was, to persuade Henry to send the Scottish rebels out of his dominions. The English Monarch, enraged that a petty Prince, his nephew, should not embrace his offers with eagerness, and receive his commands with respectful submission, scarcely deigned to give the Scottish ambassadors a patient hearing. Hardly had they returned home, when the peace which had for some time subsisted between the Scots and the English, was, chiefly by the contrivance of Angus and his partizans, violated upon the borders ; and the ancient hostilities were renewed with an earnestness more zealous on the part of the Scots, than when the Duke of Albany had in vain attempted to lead them on. After some Scottish ships had been taken at sea by the English, and after various acts of mutual devastation had been

been

been committed by both Scots and English on the borders ; the interference of the French King, once more at peace with Henry, mediated a new truce between the contending Scots and English ; and James and his high-minded uncle, renewed their former amicable correspondence *.

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AMIDST this progress of the public affairs of Scotland, was instituted the *College of Justice* ; in order to administer that civil and criminal justice in the King's Courts ; to which his *Justiciaries*, his *Parliaments*, and even that *Committee of Parliament*, which, under the name of a *Daily Council*, had been appointed to assist the King in the duties of internal administration ; were, in consequence of the rising authority of law, and the growing prosperity of the kingdom, in a great measure inadequate. The *Senators of this College* were, by the very nature of their office at its first institution, at once Barons of Parliament, and, in addition to the great officers of state, members of their Sovereign's Ordinary and Privy Council, by whose advice it was natural for him to act, whenever his parliament were not assembled. That the provision necessary for the support of these new officers of justice, might not prove burdensome to the royal revenue, already scarcely equal to the ordinary expences of the Monarch ; salaries in money, not

* Lindsay ; Lesly ; Buchannan.

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not fiefs in land, were annexed to their offices: and the clergy, of whom, as the best lawyers in the kingdom, the new Court was chiefly to consist; agreed to defray the ordinary expences of the institution, by a contribution, with the Pope's permission, to be annually levied from their order. An institution such as this, necessarily marks an illustrious æra in the progress of civilization among the Scots. It was perhaps the most important event that distinguished the reign of James the Fifth *.

James's
voyage to
the north-
ern and
western
isles.

A VOYAGE to the Hebrudian and the Orkney isles, for the purpose of reducing their savage and lawless inhabitants to a regular submission to government, and to more peaceable habits of life, was another undertaking becoming a Prince of the vigorous talents and the active disposition of James. Sailing from Leith, he proceeded around the north-east coast of the island, to the Orkneys; composed the disorders subsisting among the inhabitants, partly Norwegians and in part Scottish, of these isles; made useful provisions for the future maintenance of tranquillity, and of the sovereign power in these remote dependencies of his dominions; and then returning westward, visited, with the same care, the great Hebrudian isles of Lewis, Harris, and Sky. In all the He-
budæ

* Skene's Acts: Lindsay: Lesly: Buchanan.

budæ, he exerted himself with an energy which struck terror into the hearts of the savage and turbulent clans by which they were possessed. By force or artifice, he made himself master of the persons of many of the chieftains; detained some of them in not dishonourable attendance about his person; sent others into imprisonment in different castles; and from others accepted hostages and pledges, in security for their future peacefulness and obedience. Macleod of Lewis, Macniel, Macclane, Macintosh, Mackay, Mackenzie, with many others, were among those chiefs from the isles, and from the main land, whom their Sovereign thus for a time removed from the scenes of their accustomed turbulence and tyranny. The taxes were likewise fixed, which were to be paid in services, or in commodities, to the King, from those distant vassals, whose services and contributions had been hitherto extremely uncertain, trivial, and irregular. From these western isles, James continued his voyage into the frith of Clyde; but not being able to land at any of its harbours, was by storms driven upon the *Point of Whithorn* in Galloway. From Whithorn he returned to Edinburgh, through the south-west district of his kingdom. In these parts, he found all those disorders to have been renewed during his absence, which his rigorous justice seemed to have, not long before his departure, almost for ever repressed. His

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indignation was here again roused; punishments were inflicted; several of the turbulent barons of the borders were sent into confinement; and, while they mutually accused one another, many defiance to judicial combat were reciprocally given and accepted among them. Charteris of Amisfield, particularly, and Douglas of Drumlanerick, engaged in a combat of this sort before the King at Edinburgh; but, after they had for some time fought, in circumstances which moved the ridicule of the spectators, were parted, without having urged the duel to death or discomfiture, on either side *.

Rise of
the Re-
formation,
& James's
matrimo-
nial nego-
tiations.

IN the mean time there had arisen, in the reformation of religion, a new cause of commotion in the political system of Europe; which, in its operation, connecting itself with other causes, less general in their nature, more accidental, and of inferior importance, was to accomplish a mighty change upon the political relations of the various European states. The art of printing, the institution of universities, the growing activity of commerce, and the confirmed efficiency of laws, had, as we have seen, concurred with joint energy, to shed new illumination over the minds of men, during the progress of the fourteenth, and the fifteenth centuries. By this means were THE CLERGY

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* Lindsay: Ledy: Buchanan.

CY THEMSELVES FIRST awakened, in many in-
 stances, to a keen sense of the absurdities so co-
 piously intermingled in the system of their recei-
 ved religious worship and belief. Satires written
 by ecclesiastics against their own order; the exa-
 mination which they began to make at their uni-
 versities, into books which had been long vene-
 rated without being understood; the bold doc-
 trines of some eminently acute theologians; and
 the daring invectives of some illustrious preachers
 against prevalent vices and opinions; had soon so
 prepared all Europe for a religious revolution,
 that nothing was wanting but some *particular*
 causes which might give efficacy to these *general*
 ones, and might thus undermine the Papal
 throne, and disarm its thunders of their terrors.
 Such causes were soon found in Germany; first,
 in the enthusiastic zeal and intrepidity of some
 Bohemians, and afterwards in the keen discern-
 ment, the passionate haughtiness, the ardent
 spirit of a Saxon monk. The Romish Court,
 unaware of its own danger, and still continuing
 to abuse those means which it possessed, for com-
 manding the veneration and obedience of the
 world, soon kindled the rising combustion into a
 blaze. Luther became the apostle of Germany;
 and the fame of his doctrines was soon spread
 abroad into distant lands. In other countries,
 similar causes were, with various success, prepa-

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ring the commencements of similar revolutions. In England, particularly, Henry the Eighth, moved partly by some scruples of conscience on account of his having married the wife of his brother, partly by love newly conceived for another woman; about this time, earnestly strove to obtain a divorce from his Queen; and, when Rome still refused to gratify his wishes in this divorce, at last determined resolutely to throw off the Romish yoke, and to make himself the independent head of the English church. It was the same combination of general causes which operated in England as in Germany: Only, in England, those general causes were called into action by a different particular cause. The affairs of Henry's divorce, and of the withdrawing of the English church from obedience to Rome; now combining to unite Charles of Germany, and Clement the Roman Pontiff, in an opposition of interests to Henry the Eighth of England, as well as to the French King; brought ambassadors, about this period, from both the Pope and the Emperor, whose errand was, to divert James from any designs of throwing off the authority of Rome, as his uncle had done; and to persuade him to abandon the alliance of France and of England, for the sake of the Emperor's friendship, and in obedience to the sacred commands of the Holy Father. James, young and a bachelor, might be naturally

turally supposed desirous to contract a matrimonial alliance with some Princess worthy of his bed. The Emperor offered him, therefore, in marriage the daughter of his sister and of Frederick, the deposed King of Denmark, or any other he should prefer, of three ladies beside her, who were not of meaner rank, and were also at the Emperor's disposal. The embassy also invested him, in Charles's name, with the insignia of that illustrious order of knighthood, which was denominated, *the order of the Golden Fleece*; and reminded him of all those alliances which had, from almost the remotest times, subsisted between the Kings of Scotland and the Sovereigns of Flanders. The Pope, too, conferred on James the most flattering honours, and earnestly solicited him to take part in the same cause with the Emperor, and to profess himself the champion of orthodox religion, and of the interests of the church. But it would have been absurd for James, however faithful to his religion, to have abandoned, for the sake of any trivial gratifications from the Pope or the Emperor, the alliances of both France and England, towards which all the interests and prejudices of the Scottish nation equally directed their wishes and their views. Nor were the charms of those mistresses, whom Charles offered to his love, so powerful as not to leave him still desirous to find a Queen among the Princesses of France. The
ambassadors

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SECT. I. ambassadors of Charles and of Clement were not
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ungraciously received, or dismissed in anger; but
A. D. they departed from the Scottish Court, without
1520 to
542. having fully accomplished all the views of their
respective missions *.

James fails
abroad to
court a
wife.

JAMES's ambassadors had already fought in different Courts, and in particular in France, a Princess who might be received into their Sovereign's bed. David Beaton, an ecclesiastic of distinguished talents; and nephew to the archbishop of Glasgow; negotiated for him a marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Vendome; which Beaton was, however, not authorised finally to conclude, till his master should with his own eyes view the beauty of her who was thus destined to his arms. With a gallantry somewhat unusual in Monarchs, therefore, James, with a gay company of his young nobility, now set sail for France. For three days and three nights they had pursued their voyage, when a storm arising, drove the vessel from its course. The pilot, consulting his Sovereign concerning the direction in which he should, in this difficulty, endeavour to sail, was by James bidden to steer how he himself chose, or how he best could. Having this permission, and, while his Sovereign slept, being, by some of the nobles attending him, desired to turn

* Lindsay: Lesly: Buchanan.

turn him backward, and steer his way to the Scottish coast; the pilot measured his course again towards his home; and when James awoke, and ascended the deck, he saw himself upon the western coast of his own kingdom. At this sight he was furiously enraged; nor would he be easily persuaded that it was not the treachery of the pilot, and of some others of his attendants, which thus strove to frustrate the design of his voyage. Perhaps it was necessity, perhaps it was intrigue, that produced the incident by which his anger was thus provoked. However these things might be; James was with great difficulty persuaded to spare the pilot's life, but would never wholly forgive either him, or those nobles in his train, by whose suggestion he suspected the pilot to have acted. With as little delay as the circumstances would permit, the Monarch then returned to Leith: Returned, he made immediate preparations for a second voyage, in which his train should be more numerous and splendid, his fleet more considerable, and better equipped, than at the first. These preparations being duly made, he set sail from Pittenweem, and, after a prosperous voyage of nine days sailing, on the tenth arrived safe at Dieppe in Normandy; where landing, he then impatiently proceeded to the Court of the Duke of Vendome. James, unwilling, however, openly to pay his court to the lady that

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that was destined for his bride, until he should have first beheld her, and determined with himself whether he could make her mistress of his heart; presented himself at her father's castle, under a disguise, as the follower of one of the persons of his train, who was selected to act for a time as the lord of the company. Even in this disguise, he with his party met a courteous reception. But he had not long entered the Duke's house, when the Princess, who had been taught to expect his hand in marriage; either by the comparison of his looks with his portrait, which had been formerly presented to her, or in consequence of previous warning of his coming, soon detected him under his disguise, and addressed him as the King of Scotland. James, thus discovered, assumed his proper character, and was for eight days sumptuously entertained by the Duke, while his love was fondly encouraged by the lady who had hopes of becoming his Queen. Yet, ere he would here conclude a treaty of marriage, he resolved to visit the Court of the French King, the gallant Francis the First*.

His reception
at the
French
Court.

At the Court of Francis, that flattering reception awaited him, which was due to the gallant young King of an allied nation, and which it became the politeness and hospitality of the most magnificent

* Eodem.

magnificent Monarch of his age to offer. Francis himself, his son Henry, and all that was most honourable about his court, vied in hospitable and respectful attention to their royal guest. To the ladies, particularly, a stranger so young, so handsome, and exhibiting in his carriage, mien, and manners, so much of knightly gracefulness and generosity, was singularly welcome. Above them all, the lovely, but sickly and delicate, Magdalen, Francis's daughter, was captivated almost at first sight, by the figure and address of the young Scottish King. Nor did her charms, made more interesting by the delicacy and languor of declining health, fail to make a bewitching impression on the heart of James, such as he had never before experienced. The young and lovely pair were soon mutually so much enamoured of each other, that all considerations of prudence, all remembrance of former promises or attachments, all but the dear ideas of one another, quickly vanished from their minds. It was the opinion of the physicians, that Magdalen, fast sinking under a consumption, the assaults of which had already mastered the force of her constitution, could not now long survive. But the deceitful fever of a disease, of which it is the peculiar character to flatter and amuse the patient, with the gayest and most undoubting hopes of lengthened life, almost till the very moment when it stops the pulsations

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of life for ever; and the raptures of a fond and not rejected love; with-held the royal maiden from indulging any gloomy forebodings of her dissolution, which should have forbidden her to give her hand to James. James himself was too much in love to be more scrupulous than she. Francis, with a tender reluctance, arising solely from his fears for his daughter's life, and from his affection for both Magdalen and her lover, at last agreed to give her in marriage to his royal guest. At James's command, signified by messengers whom he now sent home, a new train of the Scottish nobles and prelates repaired to join their Sovereign at Paris, and to do him honour during the solemnity of his marriage. An hundred thousand crowns was the marriage-portion which the King of France agreed to pay with his daughter: James engaged to provide his bride with a suitable dowry: The ancient treaties of peace between France and Scotland were renewed: And James publicly espoused a wife, whom wealth, high birth, and the most amiable personal qualities, at once recommended to his arms. Happy love seemed at first to restore the languid health and fading beauty of Magdalen. A thousand sumptuous and splendid festivities graced the marriage. Wonderous exhibitions of skill, in commanding the powers of mechanism; and the noblest productions of the fine arts which Francis had invited from Italy, to embellish

bellish his Court; displayed upon this occasion, to the eyes of the astonished and admiring Scots, a dazzling blaze of elegance, magnificence, and beauty, which they had scarcely before conceived possible to have existence *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

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1542.

AFTER the marriage was celebrated, and after the concomitant festivities had been for a due time prolonged, the new-married pair were to depart to their own kingdom. Francis, at their departure, loaded them with innumerable presents, the most costly and magnificent which the riches of his Court and kingdom could afford. They sailed from Dieppe in Normandy, and on the twenty-eighth of May, the fifth day after they had set sail, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven, arrived safe at Leith, with a numerous company of ladies and noblemen, French and Scottish, who were conveyed in no fewer than fifty ships. From Leith, they passed first to the King's residence at the Abbey of Holyroodhouse. Orders were sent to all the principal towns in the kingdom, that preparations should be made for the magnificent reception of the King and Queen, in a progress which they intended soon to make throughout his dominions. But, in the midst of the rejoicings for their marriage and safe arrival, and while the bidden preparations

His re-
turn
home.

S 2

parations

* Lindsay, &c. &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

parations were every where made for their reception, the young Queen's former illness was renewed, her feeble constitution instantly sunk beneath it, and she died on the fortieth day after her arrival on the Scottish shore. Hapless James! what must thou not have suffered, if thy heart was susceptible of that tenderness and love, which thy form and manners were made to inspire? Magdalen, whom thy heart preferred, was thus quickly ravished from thy arms! and Mary of Vendome, whom thou slightedst for Magdalen, being disappointed of thy hand, had retired to a convent, and had there already died of unrequited love *!

James's
feverity against
the
Douglasses.

BUT James, amid these adventures and misfortunes of his love, had not yet forgotten the injuries which he had suffered from the Douglasses, and had not ceased still to cherish in his breast against them, an eternal, implacable resentment. Jane, the sister of the exiled Earl of Angus, the widow of Lyon Lord Glammis, and now, by a second marriage, the wife of Archibald Campbell of Kepneth; with Campbell her husband, her son the young Lord Glammis, and an old priest their confessor; were accused of practices against James's life, by William Lyon, a kinsman of the lady's late husband. The accusation was scarcely supported by credible proofs:

in

* Eodem quos supra.

in the retirement in which the persons accused lived, it seemed improbable that they should meditate aught against the Monarch's safety : Lyon was said to be stimulated by revenge, rather than actuated by sincere loyalty. But James was ready to suspect every thing against those from whom he had suffered so much : To administer poison, there was no extensive conspiracy, no operose preparation necessary : In retirement, sorcery and witchcraft, of which suspicions were suggested, might be employed, even more securely than in the midst of the Court. The Lady Glamis, with the other persons accused as her accomplices, were therefore taken into custody. The lady herself was brought to trial, and condemned. On the fifth day after the sentence of her condemnation had been pronounced, she was beheaded on the castle-hill at Edinburgh. The people beheld her execution with indignation and sorrow ; affected with her personal beauty, and the dignity of her deportment ; remembering the former greatness, and the present misfortunes of her family ; and being inclined to believe her innocent of a crime which had, at least, proceeded as yet no farther than intention. Campbell her husband perished in an attempt to escape by a rope over the castle-wall. Her son, although spared on account of his tender years, was, however, detained in confinement during the remainder

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1540 to
1542.

of

SECT. I. of James's reign: The priest who had been ac-
 CHAP. V. cused with them, was at length set at liberty as

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 1542.

innocent.—Nor was it in this instance alone, that James shewed his former resentment against the house of Angus, still to burn fierce in his bosom. Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus, who had shared the power and odium of his nephew's ministry; unable to languish patiently in exile, at a distance from those scenes of which the image was impressed upon his memory, as the favourite haunts of his youth and manhood; ventured to return desperately into Scotland, that he might present himself in his Sovereign's presence, and might either obtain his pardon, or be sacrificed to his rage. James, seeing Archibald Douglas approach him, as he returned from hunting, into Stirling-castle; said to his attendants, *Yonder comes my GREY STEEL*; for so had he been accustomed familiarly to denominate the uncle of Angus. But, when Douglas, kneeling as he passed, humbly craved his pardon, the King rode on, and vouchsafed not to answer his request. His heart seems however to have half-relented at the sight of his ancient friend. He bade his servants treat him not unkindly; said, he would have forgiven him, had he not bound himself by an oath, never to pardon the treason of the Douglasses; and then, rather in favour than in anger, sent his commands to Archibald to retire to France, and there await his

his farther pleasure. The rejected suppliant obeyed, and in France not long after died *.

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1542.

But, the welfare of his kingdom would not permit that James should long remain a widower. His mother, whose high passions he seems to have in a great degree inherited, was now no more. He was left alone without any dear domestic society; with no near kindred around him, in whose attachment he might repose a confidence sufficient to soothe that suspiciousness of spirit, which seemed to be fast becoming the predominant temperament of his mind. It was, besides, necessary that he should seek again to provide, in the legitimate offspring of marriage, an heir to succeed him, with uncontested right, upon his throne: for his father's cousin, the Duke of Albany, had resigned into his hands the castle of Dunbar, and was since dead, without leaving issue; and should James himself die childless, an endless competition might again arise among his more distant, collateral kindred, to distract the kingdom, and perhaps again to subject its independence to some foreign power. Once more, therefore, James was to send an embassy to woo for him a bride in France. James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, and David his nephew, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, had gradually arisen, after the fall of the Douglasses, to an ascendancy

James negotiates a second marriage for himself.

* Lindsay : Hume, &c.

SECT. L.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
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1542.

dency in James's councils, of which their abilities and their discretion seem to have rendered them not unworthy. Their influence was rivalled only by that of the Hamiltons; among whom Sir James, the Earl of Arran's natural son, was a man of eminent talents for war and for political intrigue, but of a dark and cruel spirit. David Beaton, now exalted, in consequence of the recent death of his uncle to the Primacy of Scotland; was accordingly sent, with Lord Erskine, to solicit in marriage for his widowed Sovereign, Mary, daughter to the Duke of Guise, and widow to the Duke of Longueville; a lady in the prime of her years, and of distinguished beauty, whom James had himself seen and admired when he formerly visited the Court of France. The embassy proved successful. James, informed by the letters of his ambassadors, sent the Lord Maxwell and the Master of Glencairn, with a gallant train of young nobility, and a suitable number of ships, to bring home this second bride. The marriage was celebrated at Paris; James being, in the solemnity, represented by proxy. The young Queen, the Scottish ambassadors, and all the nuptial train, sailing from Dieppe, arrived safe at Fifeness in the month of June in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight. The King waiting her arrival at St Andrew's, hastened out to receive her. The marriage-ceremony was again

again celebrated, and the marriage consummated at St Andrew's. After some time there spent, in festivities suitable to the happy occasion; James conducted his Queen in a gay and sumptuous progress through the principal burghs of his kingdom; in all which they were received with abundant demonstrations of joy and loyalty. Mary expressed a satisfaction with the manners of the Scots, and with their country, by which she was doubly endeared to her husband, and to his subjects: and James forgot the sorrows of his widowhood in the chaste, connubial joys of his second marriage.—For four natural sons, born to him by Scottish maidens whom he had seduced, he had already made provision, by appropriating for their support, the Abbies and Priories of Melrose, Kelso, Coldingham, the Holyrood, and St Andrew's; affording all together a revenue hardly inferior to that of the Crown itself*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A D.
1510 to
1541.

Amidst this progress of the civil and military affairs of Scotland, under James the Fifth, the same kindling light of curiosity and knowledge which elsewhere taught men to question or reject the authority of the received system of religion, began to operate here also with a similar power. Long before this period, the disciples of Wickliffe from England, and even of Huss and Jerome

Progress of
the reformation in
Scotland.

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T

from

* Lindsay: Lesly, &c.

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1542.

from Germany, had begun to disseminate their new doctrines in Scotland; and had in several instances been condemned by the jealous clergy, to approve their faith by suffering the pains of martyrdom. *The blood of the martyrs has ever been the seed of the church.* In spite of all the clergy's cruelty and vigilance, the doctrines which they strove to suppress, continually gained new ground. The cheerfulness with which the condemned reformers were seen to endure their dying sufferings; that spirit of religious curiosity which was stimulated, not more by their preaching, than by the eager jealousy with which the arm of ecclesiastical power was raised against them; the natural progress of knowledge in the schools and universities at home; new communications from abroad; the fame of what was done in Germany; the nearer knowledge of the mighty and sudden revolution of ecclesiastical power, newly accomplished in England; with a variety of other causes adapted to operate powerfully upon the principles of human nature; had already drawn many converts among the Scots, to embrace the new opinions, and had not inconsiderably diminished that ancient veneration with which the Scottish nation in general had long regarded all the doctrines and ceremonies of the Romish church. During the administration of the Earl of Angus, to whom the Hamiltons were politically obnoxious; Hamilton,

milton, Abbot of Ferne, and nephew to the Earl of Arran, a young man distinguished alike for extraordinary learning, spotless purity of morals, and meek, humble, fervent piety; had been brought to trial for heresy, before an inquisitorial court of laymen and ecclesiastics; found guilty upon his own confession; condemned to the flames; and executed at St Andrew's. At a later period, Norman Galloway Vicar of Dolour, and David Straiton, brother to the *Laird* of Laurieston*, had, for the same pretended crime, been consigned to the same fate. The fancied evil daily spread wider, and rooted itself more deeply. The fears and jealousies of the clergy were continually augmented. Their inquisition was dreadfully rigorous. And Hamilton of Evandale, Arran's natural brother, being charged with the care of conducting its inquiries, accusations, and trials; made these yet more terrible and severe, by the natural ferocity of his mind, and the settled cruelty of his temper †.

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CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

But the King of England, involved by the caprice and impetuosity of his own passions, in innumerable troubles; having now by divorce, and by unjust execution, repeatedly widowed his bed; having renounced all ecclesiastical allegiance to the See of Rome; having spoiled the English church

Advances
made to
James by
his uncle
Henry.

T 2

* In the shire of Kincardine.

† Eodem quos supra : Melville's Memoirs : Knox's History.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
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1542.

church of many of its most valuable endowments; dreading the designs of foreign powers, and the machinations of Papists at home and abroad: Made now some wavering, uncertain efforts, to support the interests of the reformation he had effected in England, by entering into political connections with the states professing the reformed religion in Germany; and by persuading his nephew of Scotland to follow his example, to throw off also the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and to enrich himself with the plunder of the Church. In regard to Scotland, he was peculiarly anxious to accomplish his purpose; because James, a Prince of high character throughout Europe, being so nearly allied to the English throne, might, upon Henry's decease, be set up in prejudice to his children, by the Roman Catholics in Britain and abroad, as the only lawful heir to the English throne. For this reason, to detach James from the interests of Rome, Henry sent, about this time, an illustrious embassy into Scotland. The ambassadors were, Lord William Howard and the Bishop of St David's. They invited James, in Henry's name, to meet their Sovereign in a conference at York; and promised to gratify him, if he should comply with their master's wishes, with whatever an opulent and prodigal King could bestow, to supply the wants of an humbler and poorer neighbour. James, partly reverencing the authority

rity of so great a King, the brother of his mother; and being in part not averse from those designs upon the wealth of the church, which Henry's closer alliance would naturally favour and encourage; agreed at first to meet the English King at the proposed place of interview, and dismissed his ambassadors with such an answer as their master desired. No sooner were those intentions of the Monarch publicly known, than all the favourers of the reformation in Scotland began to flatter themselves with hopes, that Henry's advices to his nephew would at least put an end to the rage of persecution: while the Scottish clergy began to tremble as if the authority of their order had been already overthrown, and their possessions ravished from them. Anxious, therefore, to avert the impending danger, the clergy eagerly made offer to the King of an annual free gift of fifty thousand crowns, if he would yet refuse to attend his uncle at the expected interview; promised to supply, even with their whole fortunes, the expences of war with England, if war should ensue; and held out to his imagination the prospect of greater wealth to be obtained from the condemned heretics, than if all the revenues of the church were sacrilegiously seized. James was needy and avaricious. David Beaton, the head of his clergy, was, at the same time, his favourite counsellor, and a man of consummate ability and address.

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SECT. I. addrefs. Hamilton of Evandale, too, exalted by
CHAP. V.

the influence of the clergy, to preſide over their

A. D. inquisition, was thus bound to their intereſts.

1520 to

1542.

James therefore accepted his clergy's offers; conſented to adopt the meaſures which they had perſuaded; and reſuſed to meet Henry at York, after this proud Monarch had already come thither on account of the propoſed interview *.

State of
parties in
Scotland.

WHILE Henry, beyond meaſure exaſperated at the diſappointment, reſolved to avenge it by a ſpeedy declaration of war againſt Scotland; the Scots were divided into two parties, with almoſt a preponderancy in favour of the Engliſh intereſts. The faction of Angus; which might be conſidered in ſome meaſure as the remains of that faction of the houſe of Douglas which James the Second had with difficulty overthrown; although humbled, was not exterminated, but ſtill lurked in conſiderable force in all parts of the kingdom. To ſtrengthen this faction, there had been added, all whoſe crimes had been puniſhed, whoſe wiſhes had been denied, whoſe ambition thwarted, by the diſcerning wiſdom, or the haughty paſſions of James. The private enemies of his miniſters, of the crafty Beaton, of the ferocious and dark-minded Hamilton, of Oliver Sinclair, and other meaner perſons, the envied objects of his personal favour,

* Eſſdem quos ſupra, &c.

favour, were also secretly inclined to counteract their Sovereign's purposes. But, above all, the favourers of the Reformation, which had been, within these few last years, advancing with giant strides; whether sincerely concerned for the interests of true religion, or dazzled by the seductions of novelty, or fearful for their own safety, or burning with ardour to avenge their friends whom persecution had slaughtered, or looking with greedy and rapacious eyes towards the rich emoluments of the Church; were already sufficiently numerous to compose a party, of itself, almost powerful to sway, directly or indirectly, the force and the counsels of the state*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1540 to
1542.

ONE of the first efforts of those cabals which were thus formed among the Scots, for the purpose of opposing the influence of the clergy and their partizans, was directed against Sir James Hamilton. Hamilton had long enjoyed considerable favour with his Sovereign; rather, however, as an able and daring servant, ready to execute any measure, however flagitious; than on account of any thing in his nature or manners, which could make his society peculiarly acceptable to James. At different times, he had drawn upon himself the Monarch's anger: but hitherto, whatever gusts of the royal resentment had been excited

Fall of Sir
James Ha-
milton.

* Lindfay: Lesly: Melville: Knox, &c.

SECT. I. excited against him, had still passed harmless
 CHAP. V. over. James still continued to trust and to employ
 A. D. him; yet could not help regarding his character
 1520 to with a degree of evident suspicion, which might
 1542. soon be inflamed to burst forth in destructive
 fury. Even at this time, while Hamilton was,
 with great earnestness, urging the prosecution of
 suspected heretics; his royal master sent him large-
 ly furnished with money, to repair and enlarge
 the castle of Rothesay in the isle of Bute. On the
 next day after the commission had been given,
 James, passing from Edinburgh to Falkland, was,
 on his way, accosted by another Hamilton, son to the
 sheriff of Linlithgow, who represented, that he had
 a charge of secret treason to disclose. The King re-
 ferred the informer to his principal officers who
 remained behind at Edinburgh; and gave him a
 ring to deliver to them as a token that he came
 by the King's authority. With seeming astonish-
 ment, but not without a malicious satisfaction,
 they heard Sir James Hamilton charged by this
 young man, the son of his cousin, with the crimes
 —of correspondence with the exiled traitors of
 the house of Angus,—and of a purpose, often at-
 tempted, hitherto frustrated, but not relinquished,
 for putting the King to death.—Afraid lest Ha-
 milton, though thus accused, should yet by his
 influence with his Sovereign, escape the snare,
 they immediately took him into custody, and con-
 ducted

ducted him a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. These steps being taken ; both Sir James Hamilton and the officers by whom he had been cast into prison, wrote instantly, he to complain to his Sovereign, and solicit his favour ;—they to communicate those accusations, upon hearing which they had adopted so bold a measure. James at first inclined to favour Hamilton, and passionately to blame his enemies ; was no sooner informed of the crimes alledged against him, than he himself recalled to mind a thousand things which seemed to support the charge ; and all those causes of anger, rushed afresh upon his recollection, which, respect to Hamilton's useful service, had formerly induced him to overlook. Instead of giving orders to set Hamilton at liberty, he now repaired in furious haste to Edinburgh ; removed the prisoner from temporary and honourable custody in the castle, to the *talbooth* of the city, the prison for malefactors ; brought him to speedy trial before an assize, which was composed chiefly of his enemies ; and when he was condemned, impatiently inflicted upon him the most rigorous punishment of that treason of which he was perhaps not unjustly convicted. Hamilton's fall, at the same time while it weakened the party of the church, and of those who were the most entirely devoted to pay an implicit obedience to the King's commands ; struck aghast the whole nation ;

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1520 to
1542.

and particularly almost all the nobility; who now began to think, that no rank, no affluence, no favour, could secure them from being, at one time or another, sacrificed to the capricious jealousies, and the tyrannical cruelty of their King. Even of those who were the most attached to the Monarch, many began now to compare the present times with those when James the Third had been made prisoner at his barons' pleasure, and at last cut off by their rebellion. The comparison suggested an example: the season seemed to them to say that it was now almost time to follow it*.

Progress
of the
quarrel
with
Henry.

IN the mean time the two neighbouring Monarchs, the haughty uncle, and his no less haughty nephew, breathed nothing but mutual resentment and defiance. Henry would not bear unrevenge, that insult which James had offered him, by refusing to fulfil his promise of meeting him at York. James thought with uncontrollable indignation—of his uncle's threats, of the protection which the rebels, exiled from his dominions, had found at the English Court, of that contemptuous pride, with which Henry had ever affected to look upon him as a petty Prince, existing but by *his* sufferance. Henry was the first to commence hostilities. His ships of war besetting the entrance into the frith of Forth, captured

* Lindsay : Ledy : &c. &c.

tured no fewer than eight and twenty Scottish merchant vessels, as these returned from, or sailed out for the ports of France, Flanders, or Denmark. Nor had James yet resolved whether to seek redress for this injury by force of arms, when news was brought to him, that Sir George Bowes, with a force of three thousand Englishmen, had, by Henry's command, made an inroad upon the Scottish frontiers. To repulse the invaders, he instantly dispatched the Earl of Huntley, and Walter Lindsay Prior of Torphichen, a gallant and experienced knight of the military order of St John of Jerusalem, with ten thousand men under their command. For some time the two hostile armies watched each other's motions on the eastern borders; waiting each an opportunity to strike the adversary with some fatal blow. While the Scots lay between Jedburgh and Kelso, the English imagined that they had at last found an opportunity of falling upon them by surprise. They advanced. With Bowes were now the banished Earl of Angus and his brother George, several of the Piercies, Sir Ralph Sadler, and other distinguished knights of the names of Layton, Witherington, Heron, and Ivers. It was about day-break when they came within sight of the Scots; and, to their astonishment, they beheld these enemies whom they proposed to surprise, already aware of their approach, drawn out in battle, and coming

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1540 to
1542.

on to encounter them, in a disciplined order, and with an aspect of martial ardour, which struck terror into their hearts, and made them at once despair of victory. Hardly awaiting the first onset, the English thus disappointed and confounded, turned their backs, and fled. Several of the most distinguished knights among them were made prisoners. A number of the common soldiers were slain in the flight. *Halden-rig* was the name of the scene of action. The news of this first success in the commencement of the war, was singularly grateful to the Scottish King *.

James
leads an
army to
the bor-
ders.

IN spite of this success, James was far from being able to make the war popular among his subjects. It was the misery of the feudal form of government, that, while it on the one hand, seemed to confer on the Sovereign, the absolute authority in some instances of a despot, it on the other left the aristocracy in many cases almost in a state of lawless freedom. This spirit of the civil constitution over which he presided, concurring with the state of parties and opinions among his barons; was rapidly kindling up a contention between James and his nobles. It seemed, too, as if the event of the battle of Flowden had forever broken the lofty spirits of the Scots, as if the genius of England had in that fatal day bound the

* Eisdem quos supra.

the guardian angel of Scotland in fetters which he was never to shake off. Much of fear for what the strength of England might again atchieve ; much of a temper of opposition to their Sovereign's counfels ; much of a partiality for the reformation, and of a dread of those forfeitures by which the clergy had proposed to enrich the Crown ; conspired to make the Scottish nobles in general averfe from the profecution of the war. But, the conditions of their tenures obliged them to attend in arms, at leaft for forty days in the year, their King's commands : And James, warned of the approach of the Duke of Norfolk at the head of a great army to revenge the late difafter of Bowes ; fummoned all his military vaffals to repair to his ftandard and follow him to the borders. They came. Muftered on the Burrough-moor at Edinburgh, they marched hence fouthward as far as Fala and Lawder. Thus far advanced toward the border, it became neceffary to confult, what meafures they fhould next purfue : Befides, within the three days confumed in their march hither, the difcontented barons had found means to communicate to one another their fentiments concerning public affairs, and to reflect on their ftrength to bend the King's counfels to their wifhes. Refractory to the King's commands, moft of the confiderable men in the army met in an irregular tumultuary afsembly, not convened

by

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1530 to
1542.

SECT. I. by the King's authority ; and propofals were then
CHAP. V. produced, highly derogating from his power. In

A. D. 1520 to 1542. vain did James fend to request them to march onwards into England. Of two things propofed ; that they fhould content themfelves with a defensive war, without paffing beyond their own borders ; that they fhould feize and punifh the King's minifters, as their anceftors had in this very place punifhed the minifters of James the Third ; they unanimoufly agreed to the firft, and hardly rejected the latter. Lawder was a fatal and ominous fcene. James, therefore, his heart almoft burfting with the anguish of difappointment and indignant rage, haftily left his difobedient army, and returned from Lawder to Edinburgh. The Duke of Norfolk in the mean time, had either not ventured to advance within the Scottifh limits, or, when he faw the moderation of the Scots, had again retired. The Scottifh army delayed not to follow the example ; but decamping, returned every one to his own home *.

Battle of Solway-mofs, &c. JAMES indignant alike that he had been difobeyed by his barons, and that he had been obliged to retire from before the Englifh without fighting ; foon refolved to mufter another army, and to make a new attempt againft the Englifh on the fide of the western marches. On the fifteenth

* Buchanan : Lefly : Lindfay : &c. &c.

teenth of November, passing to Peebles, he summoned the attendance particularly of his military vassals of the south-west counties. They assembled to follow him, and he then directed his progress by Moffat into Annandale, and onwards to where the Esk marks the meeting confines of Scotland and England. Here, however, as before, his barons still persisted in limiting their military service to the operations of defensive war. James's rage and threats were vain : they still retained their purpose. Retiring therefore backward to the castle of Lochmaben, he left his favourite Oliver Sinclair, in whom he was inclined to confide rather than in Maxwell warden of the western marches ; to command in his own absence, the army which he left, at least for observation and defensive warfare. But, they who would not at the bidding of their King, advance to attack the English ; would not for his lieutenant, even maintain their ground, and defend themselves when they were attacked. At Solway-moss, Sir George Wharton with comparatively but an handful of Englishmen ; while the Scots were discontent with their leader, uncertain whether to fight or flee, entangled in the dangerous passage of a creek with which they were unacquainted ; put the whole Scottish forces to flight, slew more than thirty of their number, and made about a thousand prisoners, and among those, sixty men of rank.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1540 to
1542.

rank. . James receiving the news in Lochmaben-castle, instantly departed eastward, and passed first to Edinburgh, and soon after to Falkland. At Falkland the shame, indignation, and despair which preyed upon his spirits, threw him into a fever. He rapidly sickened: No consolation could re-animate him: The news that his Queen at Linlithgow had just born him a daughter, but embittered instead of alleviating his anguish. After a very few days illness, he died. Cardinal Beaton assiduously besieged the deathbed of his departing Sovereign; till at last, when James's faculties hardly retained any sense of the things of this world, the priest wrung from him, what he afterwards produced as his will, appointing Beaton to be Regent of the kingdom after his death, and guardian to his infant daughter. His death happened on the thirteenth day of December, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-two, the thirty-third year of his age, the thirty-second of his reign*.

Character
of James
the Fifth.

JAMES the Fifth was undeniably a man of no mean virtues and talents. The powers of his mind were fully equal to the duties of government. In the most striking features of his character, he bears a conspicuous resemblance to his illustrious ancestor, James the First. He was less learned;

* Eodem quos supra.

learned; he was not, like James the First, a judge and a master of the fine arts. But in vigilance, in activity, in clear discernment, and quick and firm decision, James the Fifth seems rather to have excelled, than to have fallen short of, his great-great-grandfather. Educated as he was among men who were interested to maintain him as long as possible in the mental imbecility of childhood; it is surprising that his heart and manners were not more corrupted, nor his understanding more impaired and debased, than they appear to have been. But, in truth, nature and circumstances ever influence our education infinitely more than all the pains, and all the neglect of parents, guardians and instructors.—When the policy of James the Fifth and of his four immediate predecessors, is carefully examined; we cannot judge them to have acted upon any enlarged, systematic plan for humbling their nobility, and for exalting the regal power. No; plans so extensive, and requiring so much political sagacity, and such an abstraction of the views of the mind from present interests and passions; were never framed by any one Sovereign of this age: Far less could they be pursued in such a country as Scotland, by a series of Kings, no one of whom was formed to govern under his father's eye. But, it was the nature of the feudal government to place Kings and their great vassals in a state of eternal warfare,

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SECT. I. arising from a constant collision of their ordinary
 CHAP. V. interests and passions. Policy extending its views

A. D.
 1520 to
 1542.

to vast and remote objects, was not necessary to set a King and his barons at continual variance ; for the narrow interests and passions of common life were equal to the effect. If Lewis the Eleventh of France, if Henry the Seventh of England, accomplished in a considerable degree, the general humiliation of the great vassals of their respective Crowns ; that general humiliation resulted from the principles of human nature and from the necessary laws of social life, not from the narrow designs and short-sighted counsels of the Monarchs to whom it has been attributed. James the First of Scotland, when he almost exterminated the family of his uncle, the Duke of Albany, was actuated by personal resentment, by care for his personal safety, by a desire to avenge the wrongs of his father and his murdered brother, by a wish to recover the alienated patrimony of the Crown ; not by extended views of humbling his nobility in general, and of altering the civil constitution of his kingdom. Having cut off so many traitors with a firm unrelenting severity, from the idea of which, the minds of many of his other barons, revolted with indignation and with horror ; he was forced in self-defence, from fear, caution, and suspicion, to pursue the blow. James the Second was involved in the quarrel with the family
 of

of Douglas, solely in consequence of the overgrown greatness of that one house. He would have gladly lived at peace with them, if the last but one of the Earls of Douglas *could have borne his faculties meekly*. From first to last, it was a personal and unavoidable competition with a particular house, not a coolly-formed plan of policy, which prompted the whole train of those measures by which the Douglasses were, in their principal branch, by him at last overthrown. The Humes, the Hepburns, and the Douglasses of Angus, the remains of the faction of the Earls of Douglas, whose vassals they had all been ; first stirred up discord between James the Third and his brothers ; and then, when they had driven him to bereave himself of these *his two arms*, followed out the measures of the fallen Earls of Douglas,—but for their own interests alone,—and destroyed their Sovereign. This was no contest between the Sovereign and his whole nobility ; but the prosecution merely of private and personal interests and views, inherited from a fallen family by their vassals who were ambitious to inherit the possessions and power of their ancient Lords. James the Fourth was suffered to reign in peace ; because he permitted the Humes and Douglasses to domineer on the borders, and because the two opposite parties of his nobility were counterbalanced nearly in equipoize ; while he himself was absolutely a

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CHAP. V.

A. D.
1520 to
1542.

SECT. I.
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A. D.
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1543.

stranger to all plans against their general opulence, security, and power. It was with Angus his personal enemy, and with the faction of Angus, that James the Fifth was at variance; as Albany had been opposed by the Humes and the Douglasses, because he reclaimed his father's earldom of March, and thus brought his own private interests into competition with theirs.—In the character of James the Fifth, we discover the high passions of a young man, possessing numerous advantages of nature and of fortune, and as yet too inexperienced in life, to know with how many ills it is at every step surrounded,—ills sufficient to humble the pride of the most insolent, and to wither the hope and confidence in the breast of the most sanguinely presumptuous—of mankind. James had the fortune to be celebrated by the most illustrious poet, in the only polished modern tongue of the age in which he lived. *Ariosto*; whose enchanting poem of *Orlando Furioso*, was adapted by the extent, the grandeur, and the wild irregularity of its plan, to celebrate all the most admired knights and ladies of the age in which he lived; has immortalized the character and attractive qualities of James, under the person of Zerbino, one of the most amiable of his heroes. The great *Caledonian* forest, too, is by the same Prince of Italian poets, celebrated in a manner by which we may be perhaps induced

induced to think, that the Papal legate, after his return to Italy, had spoken much of that sumptuous and wildly magnificent feast with which James and his Court were entertained in the forests of Athole, by the Earl of that district. Besides, the daughter born to him, while he was in his last agonies, James had by his Queen, Mary of Lorraine, two sons, James and Arthur, who both died in infancy, before their father. * By other ladies who had admitted his unlawful embraces, he left no fewer than five natural sons, and one natural daughter. James was buried at Edinburgh in the chapel of the abbey of the Holy-rood, in the same grave in which the body of his first wife, Magdalen, had before been laid. His funeral was conducted in magnificent and solemn pomp. *Black robes* were for the second time, in Scotland, worn upon this occasion, as a dress of formal mourning. And even of those nobles who had opposed the measures of his government, not a few sincerely bewailed his death *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. V.

A. D.
1510 to
1542.

CHAPTER

* See: Crawford's History of the Stewarts.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.A. D.
1542 to
1580.

CHAPTER VI.

*From the death of JAMES the Fifth, to the return of his daughter MART, a widow, out of France.*Condition
of Scot-
land after
the death
of James
the Fifth.

JAMES the Fifth was no more. The remains of the faction of Angus had no longer to dread his vengeance. The clergy could no longer triumph in his support, and transform him from a wise and beneficent Monarch, to a dæmon of persecution. The inevitable fate of mankind had delivered Henry the Eighth from the opposition of a nephew whose abilities he dreaded, and by whose obstinacy he had been enraged. Scotland was again to be exposed for a long series of years, as a ship without a pilot, as a prize for which the intrigues of foreign Kings and politicians, and the fierce and irreconcilable ambition of its own nobles, should contend, till they had wasted, mangled, and almost destroyed or torn it piecemeal. A new principle of faction and of policy was to be fully developed, and was, by its influence, to change the distribution, the views, the measures, and the interests of parties, not more within Scotland, than among the foreign nations who concerned themselves in Scottish affairs. Scotland was to become, in some sort, almost as much the theatre of

of mutual opposition between France and Eng-
land, as Italy had been the scene of similar con-
test between France and Spain.

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A. D.
1542 to
1580.

AFTER James's death and funeral; the first grand emotion which actuated the minds of men throughout the kingdom, was of sorrow for his premature fall; the second was an anxiety of fear and hope in regard to the settlement of the government during the minority of his infant daughter. The powers of government; whatever the energy which these still possessed, necessarily remained as yet in the hands of the ecclesiastical party, of Beaton their leader, of those nobles who had espoused the cause of the Church, and who had shewn themselves less backward than the rest, to follow James to the invasion of England. With this party of the Church, and of those who were the most devoted to the will of the late King, naturally coalesced, all they who were still disposed to prefer the alliance of France to that of the English; for the causes of England, of reformation in religion, and of the exiles of the party of Angus, being one and the same; all who were separately in opposition to these, were, of course, likewise forced into union. With Beaton and the three combined interests which he naturally directed, the Queen-dowager, the kinswoman of France,

Intrigues
for the
power of
the admin-
istration.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.

A. D.
1542 to
1550.

France, therefore took part ; and committed herself and her infant daughter chiefly to Beaton's care. Availing himself of these advantages, the Cardinal immediately aspired to the regency ; and to give efficacy to his claims, produced a WILL, which he had either forged in his late Sovereign's name, or had procured the dying Monarch to sign, when he was no longer capable of attending to its contents. By this deed, the future care of the government, and the guardianship of the infant Queen, were intrusted to that powerful and cunning ecclesiastic, who might indeed be, on many accounts, regarded as the fittest person for the charge. His claims seemed to be successful ; and his authority was about to be established. Yet knowing the strength of the party which he had to oppose ; and conscious of a want of right in his own pretensions ; he did not immediately summon a convention of the estates of parliament ; but delayed till every thing should have been cautiously prepared to make their decision favourable to him, or till time should in its lapse, bring forth some new events which might unnerve the opposition he had to fear *.

State of
parties.

BUT, the party whose interests stood in hostility to his, were, at least, with equal zeal and activity, strengthening themselves to meet and overthrow

* Lesly : Buchanan : Melville : Knox, &c.

throw Beaton and his friends. Beaton, like every other man who has long filled an eminent station, had many personal enemies; whose hatred was exasperated to new activity, when they saw him aspire so high, even above the grandeur of his present condition; and who now easily communicated their sentiments to many that had, in regard to him, been before neutral. Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the grandson of the sister of James the Third, as the nearest legitimate collateral relation to the young Queen, had a *right* to the regency, by the same law by which the Duke of Albany had been called in to administer the government during the minority of the late King: And Arran, although a young and a weak man, could not but be *disposed* to make good his own rights: *dispositions* and *rights* by which he was fitted to become the ostensible head of Beaton's opponents, and an useful tool in their hands. Above all, the English King having within his power, a number of the prime nobility of Scotland, who had been made prisoners at Solway-moss; treated them not as captive enemies; but winning them by kindness to his interests; laid aside every purpose of harassing Scotland by farther hostilities; and dismissed them under the direction of Angus and his brother George, to oppose, in the Scottish councils, the enemies of England, and to bring the Scottish government

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I. into a subserviency to the interests of the English
 CHAP. VI. Crown. Angus and his kindred returning with all
 A. D. the weight of Henry's favour to support them,
 1542 to were of themselves naturally disposed, if not to
 1580. wreak their vengeance furiously upon Beaton, one
 of their ancient enemies, at least to depress his
 present power, and to oppose his farther aggran-
 dizement. That party whose religious opinions
 made them adverse to the established church, were,
 besides, every day augmented: and every day,
 the severities which were exercised against them,
 and those, still more cruel, which were threaten-
 ed; excited them to new indignation against Car-
 dinal Beaton, their most eminent adversary; and
 drove them to consider even their personal safety, as
 absolutely incompatible with aught in respect to
 him, but the absolute overthrow of his greatness,
 and the dissolution of his party*.

The Earl
 of Arran
 advanced
 to the re-
 gency.

A CONVENTION was therefore summoned to
 meet at Edinburgh, for the settlement of the new
 government. Beaton and his party were there
 outnumbered and overawed. The pretensions of
 Arran, espoused and supported by all the favourers
 of the English interest, and by all the friends to
 religious reformation; were fully allowed. The
 attainder of the Douglasses, was reversed. The
 castle of Edinburgh, the palace of Falkland,
 the

* Buchanan; Lesly; Lindsay; Knox; &c. &c.

the treasures of the late King, were committed to the custody of Arran, thus invested with all the powers and honours of the regency. Of the officers of the administration under the late King, some were dismissed, others retained, at the pleasure of the new governor. The young Queen with her mother, were left for a time at Linlithgow, under the particular care of Lord Livingstone; and were afterwards, with due respect, conducted to Stirling. Arran, already openly favourable to the reformers, did not withdraw his regard, in consequence of the advancement of his fortune: And the terrors of persecution being thus greatly diminished, the success of the new doctrines in religion was, hence, in a tenfold proportion increased *.

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1542 to
1580.

It was, however, by the authority chiefly of the English faction, that the views of Beaton had been thus far defeated, and the ambition of Hamilton gratified, and the fears of the reformers relieved. About the same time as the exiles and captives, came an ambassador from England, commissioned to make proposals in his master's name to the estates of Scotland, which Angus, and those who accompanied him home, had already engaged to support. Successful by Henry's favour, Hamilton and his friends were bound to

Y 2


promote

* Eodem: Skene's A.Gs.

SECT. I.
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A. D.
1542 to
1580.

promote Henry's wishes. And all the enemies of Beaton, by the extrusion of him from the regency, throwing themselves upon England for protection; made themselves, in this act, the creatures of the English King. Henry, who viewed the Scots from the height of his pride and self-congratulation, as at once melted by his generosity, and overawed by the terror of his arms; proposed to himself, no less than to obtain from those ancient enemies, an immediate treaty for the marriage of their infant Queen with his son Edward, and the deliverance of the person of Mary into his hands, that she might be educated at his Court. Nor had he, for this time, judged greatly amiss. In their first flush of gratitude, the united parties in Scotland, which favoured the English interest, were indeed disposed to grant almost every thing. Sadler, Henry's ambassador, a man of address, liberally distributed money, and cunningly spread the meshes of intrigue. In vain did Cardinal Beaton, with all who were faithful to the interests of the Church, all who were subject to the influence of France, and all who yet cherished deep in their hearts, the ancient hatred against England; oppose the acceptance of Henry's proposals, in the parliament which was assembled to deliberate upon them. Their cabals, their eloquence, their tumultuous endeavours to interrupt the discussion, were overpowered. The proposals presented by
Sadler

Sadler, were, with some variation, accepted: SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.
And the Scottish parliament, with the Regent at 
their head, agreed to give their Queen in marriage A D.
1542 to
1580.
to the son of Henry; and when she should have
attained the age of ten years, to conduct her
to the English Court. Beaton, on account of his
pertinacious opposition to these measures, was
sent into confinement, first to the castle of Dal-
keith, and afterwards to his own Archiepiscopal
castle of St Andrew's, under the custody of Lord
Seaton*.

THESE measures, so decisively adverse to the in- Events fa-
vourable
to Beaton
and his
party.
fluence of France, and which seemed to strike an
irrecoverable blow against the party of the clergy;
excited a general and almost despondent alarm
among the worsted faction, by which they were
aroused to exertions that were yet, for a time,
to avert their final ruin. The clergy furnished a
large contribution of money, to be distributed se-
cretly for the support of their interests, and in
order to disappoint the views of England. The
Queen-dowager, passionately averse from an al-
liance which threatened to cut Scotland for ever
off from all connection with France, the land of
her nativity; employed, to disconcert the new
measures, an influence of intrigue for which her
talents and address were eminently well qualified.
Beaton,

* Buchanan; Lefly; Knox; Sadler's Letters, &c.

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1542 to
1580.

Beaton, also, possessed of abilities to sway the minds of men, and to turn the hearts of his opponents almost at his pleasure; by various arts, soon contrived to win the favour of those by whom he was confined. And, what was, beyond all things else, fortunate to the cause which Beaton maintained; Hamilton Abbot of Paisley, natural brother to Arran the Regent, and considerably older than he; returned, at this time, from France, at once zealously hostile to all innovations in religion, and able, with Beaton's aid, to exercise an absolute and irresistible influence over his brother's mind. The King of France, too, warned of the danger there was, that Scotland might now fall irrecoverably under the yoke of England; dispatched into Scotland, the young Earl of Lennox, the grandson of the aunt of Arran, and after the young Queen, and Arran himself, the third in the prospect of the succession to the Scottish Crown; who might, in consequence of these circumstances, either detach the Regent from the English interests, or might so rival him in the eyes of the nation, as to enfeeble his authority, and to distract his government. Beside all this, not a few persons truly zealous for the welfare of their country, and for that alone; were shocked to see the eagerness with which the English and the reforming parties pushed their measures beyond all regards of decency and prudence; and
were,

were, even from this consideration solely, induced to give the weight of their influence to that scale in the balance, which seemed to have been suddenly elevated even to kick the beam. The too open encouragement which Hamilton had inconsiderately given to the preachers of the reformation, had, in truth, injured their cause, and had contributed to exasperate the wrath and augment the number of their enemies. About the time when the treaty with England was negotiated, he entertained two preachers, of the name of Guillem and Rough, who impugned the authority of the Pope, and denied many of the most important doctrines of the Church of Rome; he permitted the English translation of the holy scriptures to be commonly read; he suffered the breviary to be thrown aside, and extemporary prayers to be used by every one at his pleasure. All the cares of interest, all the regards of prejudice, all the horrors of superstition, were necessarily excited to resist, almost with incredible efforts of madness and despair, measures which thus appeared to aim at nothing less than the total overthrow of the established constitution of church and state *.

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1580.

By the combination of all these various means, the stream of political influence and authority was •

* Knox : Buchanan, &c.

SECT. I. was once more turned backwards into its ancient
CHAP. VI, channel. The Abbot of Paisley soon persuaded

A. D. his brother Arran, who already felt himself con-
1542 to founded, and perplexed, and at a loss how to act ;
1550.

Beaton
subjects
the Re-
gent to
the influ-
ence of his
counsels.

that the steps he had taken were wrong ; that the match with England must soon prove fatal to his own power, and to the high pretensions of his family ; and that whether he became the tool of Henry, provoked the resentment of France, or forsook the banners of the Romish Church, he would alike bring ruin upon his own interest and honour. Beaton, delivered from confinement, resumed his station at the head of his party, and co-operated with the Abbot of Paisley, to confirm the new impressions which had been already made upon Arran's mind. Angus and the rest of the Douglasses ; Kirkaldy, Balneavis, the other friends to the reformation ; even the ministers of the King of England ; were men unfit to contend with Beaton and with his co-adjutor Hamilton, in the artifices of intrigue. To win the Regent so much the more certainly to the French and Popish interests ; he was reminded that the abolition of the Papal authority in Scotland, must destroy the validity of an act of divorce, by which his father had been separated from a former wife, before marrying Arran's mother ; and that if the validity of this divorce were destroyed, then Arran, born while the divorced wife of his father still lived, must

must be regarded as an illegitimate child, and must lose at once his rights to the regency, and his claims to the regal succession: Lennox, the legitimacy of whose birth could in no event be impeached, would then succeed to the estates, honours, and hopes of Arran; and he who had been among the first to countenance the reformation of religion, would be the first to suffer fatally by it. Not to the Regent alone, but equally to Lennox himself, was this language artfully held. Lennox, a young and inexperienced man, lent to it a ready ear. Already did he fancy Arran, by the incapacitation of illegitimacy, or by the punishment of heresy, to be removed from before him! And, indulging these fond imaginations, he suffered Beaton to make him for a moment, the ostensible head, and in reality the tool of one party, as the Earl of Arran was of the other. The alarm of Arran was soon complete. In order that his own legitimacy might not be questioned, and in order that Lennox might be dismissed from the competition into which he had been exalted; the feeble-minded Regent was now ready to devote himself to the service of the cause which he had so lately laboured to overthrow. Argyle, too, and Huntley; the one the most powerful baron of the western, the other of the eastern Highlands; now ranged themselves on the same side with Beaton. The treaty had been already ratified; but that act

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.

A. D.
1542 to
1560.

SECT. I. was to prove vain. Arran was even then wavering
 CHAP. VI. in his sentiments. He now yielded to the influence of minds superior to his own; embraced the friendship of Beaton; renounced the alliance of England; and devoted himself to the interests of Rome and of France. Lennox, less qualified than Arran to serve the party of Beaton and the Queen-dowager, was for him now slighted and rejected. Beaton thus powerful with the Regent, as he had been with his late Sovereign; furiously rekindled the fires of persecution; and with an impatience which the success of the reformation might seem to demand, hastened to maintain what he esteemed the cause of the God of mercy, by cruelties execrably inhumane*.

The Earl
 of Lennox
 joins the
 party of
 the re-
 formers.

BUT, if Arran were now detached from the party of England of the reformers; Lennox was by consequence driven to take part with them. Fancying himself the leader of that party which he had been sent from France to support; he could not, without indignation, see himself so slightly treated by Beaton. Having aspired to the hand of the Queen-dowager, and having been encouraged by her apparent favour; he was stung to madness, when he found that he had been made the dupe, not more in policy than in love. He awakened, as from a dream, to the sense of his

own

* Eodem quos supra.

own insignificancy, and could not endure to contemplate it. Immediately after the reconciliation between Beaton and Arran, the young Queen, who had been hitherto kept at Linlithgow, under the care of noblemen who stood neutral between the two parties, was conveyed to Stirling, and there solemnly crowned. The circumstances attending this coronation, were those which finally convinced Lennox that he had been deluded and outwitted. Hardly was the ceremony over, when he retired indignant from the Court, ardently associated himself with Angus and the English faction, assembled the vassals of his family in arms; drew the Douglasses, the Cunninghams, the Murrays, to join his destined enterprise; and at the head of an army of about twelve thousand men, coming suddenly upon the Cardinal and the Regent, at Edinburgh; had almost disconcerted all their machinations, and brought them within his power. But, Beaton, with incomparable dexterity and artifice, pretending a willingness to grant all that Lennox could demand; entangled Lennox and Angus, who were both better fitted for war than for intrigue, in a protracted negotiation, which in part detached Angus from the counsels of Lennox, and partly afforded Beaton and Arran time to strengthen themselves against whatever force or military stratagems, the insurgents might here farther employ. Lennox, baffled, disappointed,

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.

A. A.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI

A. D.
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1550.

and in danger, hastily retired westward to Glasgow: Seizing here the Archiepiscopal castle, he fortified, and prepared to hold it against the pursuit and assault of his enemies, which he might expect speedily to approach. Ambassadors from France, arriving in the mean time in the frith of Clyde; he hastened to Dumbarton, to receive them. A supply of thirty thousand crowns, sent to be distributed by him among the Scots who favoured France and Rome, were thus luckily intercepted by him, and converted to other purposes. Yet, all was vain. The castle at Glasgow was surrendered to the Regent by his officers: No place of security was left him in Scotland: The French ambassadors were informed in what manner he had betrayed their cause: And he who had so lately come into Scotland to support the interests of France, now abandoned by all, was obliged to seek refuge in England. Henry received him with open arms, honourably entertained him at his Court, and after some time, gave him in marriage, Lady Margaret, the daughter of his sister, the mother of James the Fifth,—by her second husband the Earl of Angus*.

An invasion from England.

THE insurrection thus defeated, had been made, not more of purpose to redress the private wrongs of the insurgents, than to enforce the maintenance of

* Buchanan: Lindfay: Hollinshed,

of the public faith that had been pledged to the English King. Its ill success not only drove Lennox out of Scotland, but even disconcerted the counsels and cooled the zeal of Angus and the other leaders of the English faction who remained behind. For a moment, Beaton and the Queen-dowager, already secure of Arran, seemed to have partly overawed, and in part conciliated all the rest of those who had been their opponents. Perhaps it was by the lavish distribution of foreign gold; perhaps by giving hopes that the treaty with England might yet be fulfilled: perhaps by holding out convincing views of public utility to be found only in *their* measures, that the party of Beaton now appeared so successfully to turn the hearts of their enemies. Henry the Eighth, irritated beyond measure by the disappointment of his views, and by the slighting disrespect with which the Scottish administration had treated him; took now a sudden resolution, to force from them by warfare, that which he had failed to obtain even by a gracious and condescending policy, which, in ordinary cases, he was little disposed to exercise. Lennox's recourse to arms had proved fruitless. But, the battles of Flowden and of Solway, had inspired Henry with such contempt of Scottish valour; that he could not but fancy it an easy achievement for his arms, to reduce the Scots to the crouching submission of ter-
rified

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.

A. D.
1542 to
1550.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.

A. D.
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rified slaves ; or even to make an entire conquest of their country. With this contempt of Scottish valour, and this indignation of their receding from the treaty in which he had entangled them, Henry, early in the spring of the year one thousand five hundred and forty-four, sent against the Scots, a fleet of nearly two hundred vessels, having on board an army of more than ten thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Hartford. This mighty armament entered the frith of Forth, to the great terror of the Scots who beheld its approach. The ships rode at anchor over against Leith; and the troops had effected a landing some miles above that town, before the Scottish rulers could assemble any force to oppose them. Hartford's orders from his Sovereign were, to seize by force the person of the young Queen of the Scots, or to harass them with devastation and bloodshed, till they should voluntarily deliver her up. The proposal was with indignation rejected. The Regent having fortified the castle of Edinburgh, left it under the command of Hamilton of Stenhouse; and himself retired to share the safety or the danger of the Queen at Stirling. A reinforcement advancing by land from Berwick, now joined the forces which Hartford had landed from the vessels in the bay. It is possible that Lennox might have taught Henry to expect, that Angus and the rest of the English faction would not fail,

at

at the fight of such a powerful invading force, to join the invaders in arms, to crush the faction of their opponents, and to throw themselves and the liberties of their country at Henry's feet. Disappointed of whatever hopes of this sort might have been conceived, Hartford, after wasting the surrounding country, for some inconsiderable extent, advanced to Edinburgh, forced an entrance at the gates of the town, and made an unsuccessful attempt against the castle. Terribly annoyed by the artillery of the garrison, and seeing no prospect of success in the siege; the English then set fire to the town, and betook themselves to their camp and to their ships. After this failure before Edinburgh castle, it was vain to think of sailing upwards to Stirling, in pursuit of the young Queen. They demolished the pier, committed similar devastation on the opposite side of the frith; seized the merchant-ships in the harbours; and then sailed away, without having in any degree accomplished the primary purpose of their expedition*.

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CHAP. VI.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SUCH a descent was terribly afflictive to the inhabitants of these coasts: But, nothing could have been more favourable to the views of that party which was devoted to the interests of France. The ancient spirit of Scottish independence and patriotism

The Scots
in vain
pursue the
English to
the border.

* Eoſdem; Hollinshed.

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1580.

patriotism was roused in every breast. Party-contentions were for a time forgotten. With one consent, the Scots assembled at the summons of the Regent; and under his command, hastened towards their eastern borders, in pursuit of that part of Hartford's army which had retired by land, and of purpose to resist whatever farther hostilities might on that quarter threaten them. An army of no fewer than twelve thousand men, in which were the Earls of Angus and Bothwell, with other nobles, followed Arran as far as Coldingham, where the English had seized, fortified, and garrisoned, some buildings belonging to the Priory. These were for some time in vain battered by the Scottish artillery; when, upon an alarm that an English force was approaching; the Regent, with several of the principal men in the army, and a considerable part of its force, retired in precipitate haste to the castle of Dunbar. Hamilton perhaps dreaded lest Angus and other Lords, who had been lately favourable to the English, should here seize and deliver him over to his enemies. In the haste of his retreat, he left his artillery behind. Angus, however, with his own followers, averted the disgrace which must otherwise have been here suffered; and bringing off the artillery, conveyed it also safe to Dunbar *.

IN

* Lesly: Hume's History of the Douglasses.

IN some subsequent rencounters between the Scots and the English, upon the borders, the glory of the Scottish arms was more successfully maintained. But, the cares of the Scottish rulers were called away to check the progress of the reformation of religion; which had indeed already gained too much strength to be suppressed by their efforts. Henry wished to turn the vigilance of his counsels, and the force of his arms, to a continental war. The hostilities between the Scots and English were suffered to languish, and to decline into merely pillaging incursions and accidental skirmishes. When at last, a general peace terminated the war on the continent: the friendship of Francis comprehended his Scottish allies in the participation of the advantages of that treaty: And Henry was, for the present, unwillingly forced to remain frustrated of all his hopes to subject the Scots by warfare or policy, to the dominion of his Crown *.

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These hostilities terminated by a peace.

VARIOUS disorders had, in the mean time, arisen among the northern clans. At all times turbulent, they were doubly so in a season like the present, when faction enfeebled the energies of the government, and foreign war withdrew its vigilance from the cares of internal administration. Those chieftains, who, with their tribes, had

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A a

had

* Knox, p. 42.: Lellæi, lib. x. p. 455.—457.

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had been reduced to submission by the vigorous administration of James the Fifth, seemed to think, that they might again assert their licentious independence, since that dreaded Monarch was now no more. The maintenance of order, and the administration of justice in the western and northern Highlands, were now therefore committed, by the Regent and his council, to the Earls of Argyle and Huntley. In the north, Huntley, with difficulty, exercised his authority, by restoring the Grants and Frazers to a territory from which the clan Chattan had unjustly expelled them. The prædatory clan-Chattan, unable to resist the force with which Huntley came against them, hastily retired at his approach, to their own possessions, in the middle and western parts of Inverness-shire. But, they were not yet content thus to relinquish their prey: they were not to be baulked of their revenge. No sooner had the Frazers taken quiet possession of their territories contiguous to the Moray-frith, than their ancient enemies, descending, with the fraudulent cunning of savages, from their interior morasses and mountains; came upon the astonished Frazers, while these were unaware of any such danger, and cut them off almost to a man, yet not without a brave defence, by which many of the ferocious clan-Chattan were slaughtered. Huntley, alarmed by the news of this disastrous event,

armed

armed his clan in wrath, and called upon the aid of the other loyal clans around. Pursuing the clan-Chattan into their remotest fastnesses, he soon conquered all their artifices and all their open resistance, made great havock of their numbers, made prisoners several of their chiefs, brought them to trial, and put them to death. Argyle had, at the same time, with less bloodshed and warfare, compelled the western and Hebudian clans to renew their professions of allegiance *.

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In spite of whatever means were employed to thwart the ambition and overthrow the power of Beaton; he still retained such influence—with the Regent, with the Queen-dowager, with the parties of the Roman-Catholic clergy and of France, as rendered him in fact master of the government. But, the interests of the Church, and the views of that party which he guided, made it necessary for him to resist the progress of the reformation, by measures of the most decisive efficiency. The canons of the Church awarded death by cremation, as the punishment of heresy. To give due dignity to the character of Beaton, while he should enforce these canons; the Holy Father had appointed him his Legate to Scotland, with the highest powers that were ever conferred with this office. A new act of parliament was obtained, to

Persecution of the
reformers.

A 2 2

justify

* Lestæi, lib. x. p. 451-2; Buchanan, lib. xiii. p. 532.

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justify and enforce the persecution of the votaries of reformation in religion. The Cardinal made a solemn visitation of his diocese; and at Perth particularly, condemned various persons convicted or suspected of this heresy, to the punishments of hanging, drowning, banishment, or degradation from offices of trust. Among the converts of reformation, the preachers were naturally the most obnoxious to ecclesiastical vengeance. Of these preachers, there was, at this time, none more eminent for high birth, for knowledge, for piety, for zeal, for skill in the arts of persuasion, and for almost unbounded popularity, than GEORGE

Trial and
execution
of George
Wishart.

WISHART. Wishart himself, well instructed in the doctrine of the reformers, travelled, preaching these doctrines throughout all the southern districts of the kingdom. He was followed, eagerly heard, caressed, and protected by persons of all ranks. It was, for some time, difficult to surprise him in his retreat, or to prevail with the nobles who favoured him, to permit that he should be seized and punished as a heretic. The talents and authority of Beaton, however, at length prevailed. Wishart was seized at midnight, at Ormiston in East Lothian. After some short delay, he was conveyed to St Andrew's; and, as soon as the forms of the Church would permit, was brought to trial. At his trial, the Cardinal-Legate, with the other clergy by whom he

he was accused, who sat as his judges, or who surrounded him as spectators impatient for his condemnation and death; treated him with all that arrogance, and malicious asperity of abuse, which it was natural for men to exhibit, who believed themselves to perform a signal service to God, and to the Christian Church, at the same time, while they wreaked their own vengeance, and impressed upon all around, the terror of their power. Wishart, on the other hand, comported himself with firmness, moderation, and modesty, which gave new lustre to his character and his cause. His defection from the orthodox standard of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, he strove not either to excuse or deny. But, building his defence upon the authority of the holy scriptures, and upon the unambiguous voice of reason, he seems to have refuted, in truth, whatever was alledged against him, as false or wicked, and to have, at least in the judgment of his admirers, retaliated disgrace upon the heads of his accusers and judges. He was condemned to the flames. A strong guard attended, to prevent the possibility of his being rescued by his friends. When led forth, and bound to the stake, he displayed the same meek resignation to the will of Heaven, the same fervent, yet unostentatious piety, the same firmness superior to shrinking or complaint, the same cordial spirit of forgiveness

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1582.

SECT. I. forgiveness toward his persecutors, the same
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steady attachment to the doctrines he had taught ; which had before shone conspicuous at his trial, and had indeed distinguished the whole tenor of his life. His last sufferings were contemplated by Beaton and his clergy, with a passionate curiosity and satisfaction, more keen than that with which the mob in an ancient Roman theatre, are said to have viewed the combats, the mutual wounds, the dying agonies of their gladiators. To the clergy, and especially to Beaton, this execution of Wishart, the most eminent among the preachers of the reformation, seemed a triumph which gave new stability to their power, and which would leave the efforts of the reformers no longer formidable. Their private revenge was likewise eminently gratified ; For, among the most popular and common themes on which Wishart and the other preachers were wont to harangue, was, that of the immorality of the lives of the Papal clergy ; and invectives of this nature were the more bitterly resented, because they could rarely be denied or refuted *.

State of
parties.

WHILE the interests of the Church, and of the Catholic religion, were thus defended by the seemingly necessary cruelties of persecution ; the great
contest

* Knox, 43.—63 : Buchanan, lib. xiii. p. 536.—640 : Lessæi, 458.

contest of intrigue between France and England, SECT. I.
CHAP. VI. for the future government of the Scots, was by
 no means abandoned. After the defection of A. D.
1542 to
1580. Lennox, Francis the First had sent into Scotland,
 Montgomery of Lorges, to watch over the inter-
 ests of France among his insular allies. Even
 that treaty of peace, by which the hostilities be-
 tween the Scots and the English had been formally
 terminated, could hardly pacify the inveterate en-
 mities of the borderers. Henry, still furiously in-
 dignant on account of his disappointment in re-
 gard to the Scottish marriage; was prevented
 only by the infirmities of declining age, and by
 the disturbances in his Court; from renewing
 with mightier and more passionate efforts than be-
 fore, the prosecution of that favourite measure.
 His party among the Scots were still, as it should
 seem, sufficiently powerful to hinder the nation
 from entering, as yet, into a too close and irrevoc-
 able alliance with France. Even Beaton appears
 to have artfully avoided devoting himself too en-
 tirely to the French interests. Montgomery,
 after no very long stay among the Scots, return-
 ed home in dissatisfaction. The strength of the two
 political parties, the French and English, seemed
 now to be almost equally balanced. Of the
 ecclesiastical parties, the energy of Cardinal Bea-
 ton appeared, for some moments, to restore to that
 of

SECT. I. of the established Church, its ancient ascenden-
 CHAP. VI. cy *.

A. D.
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 1580.

BUT, Beaton's talents, his pride, his elevation of rank, and sumptuous magnificence of living; his obnoxious condition, as the leader, and the very vital strength of the Catholic party; the odium which was every day inflamed more and more against him, by those bold and cruel measures which he saw himself compelled to take in support of what he esteemed the dearest interests of his religion and of his country: All these means had, by this time, exasperated against him, the hearts of his enemies, even to the most atrocious ferocity of malice and resentment. The converts of the reformation, for the same reason for which they believed its doctrines to be divine truths, regarded Beaton, the great enemy of those doctrines, as the enemy of God and heaven. Wishart they had seen perish at the stake by an unjust death, although after a legal trial and condemnation: Nor could they help regarding those laws as diabolical, and that government as tyranny, under which the fainted innocence and piety of an apostle and martyr thus fatally perished. Some of Wishart's last words had been understood as a prophetic denunciation of punishment, or a cry for revenge: And both the

* Lindsay, 291. 492.: Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 534.: Lessæi, 456.: Goodwin: Hollinshed: &c.

the enthusiasm and the furious passions of his converts, were ready, even as tinder to catch the spark, whether to give efficacy to his threat, or to gratify his last wish. Civil order was as yet far from being established among the Scots, in that perfection which makes the assassination of an enemy appear enormously criminal. The eve of a revolution, whether political or ecclesiastical, is, above all others, the season when men are apt to scorn the restraints and decisions of positive law, and to appeal rather to the laws and powers of nature, each for the protection of his own rights, and the redress of his wrongs. Cabals might possibly have been formed, even before the execution of Wisliart, for the purpose of cutting Beaton off by violence, since he was so eminently an overmatch for whatever policy could be employed against him. But, it was not till after that event, that men's minds were so generally inflamed, as to encourage to the immediate perpetration, even of any bloody project for his ruin. In some transactions which quickly followed, he gave new offence to persons who had not been before his determined enemies: And a daring conspiracy for his murder was quickly concerted *.

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THE conspirators, Norman Lesly master of
Roths, William Kirkaldy younger of Grange,
VOL. IV. B b John

* Knox, p. 64.: Lesly, p. 297.

SECT. I. John Lesly of Parkhill, uncle to Norman ; with a
 CHAP. VI. few others ; not without the privity, as was

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 1580.

Assassina-
 tion of
 Cardinal
 Beaton.

suspected, of Angus ; came secretly to St. Andrew's, on the evening of the twenty-eighth day of May, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-six. Cardinal Beaton then resided in the castle of St Andrew's, which, by recent fortifications, he had rendered one of the strongest places in the kingdom. With him resided, perhaps as hostages for his security, perhaps for the purpose of education under his eye, and at the university, the eldest son of the Regent Arran, with some other young men of rank. His household was numerous. The townsmen of St Andrew's were, for the greater part, his dependents, and were favourably disposed towards him. Yet, amid these circumstances favourable to the security of Beaton, and seemingly such as might have saved him from surprise by conspiracy ; did this small band resolve to accomplish their bloody purpose. On the morning subsequent to their arrival, they, at an early hour, awaited the first opening of the castle-gates ; obtained admittance, unsuspected, into the castle ; thrust out from the gates about an hundred workmen who were employed in its reparation, and afterwards more than sixty gentlemen, one by one ; then made their way to the door of the Cardinal's own chamber. They were in all but about sixteen men who thus made themselves masters of
 the

the castle. It seems improbable that they could have been thus far successful, if unaided by some secret treachery within. After some vain resistance on the part of Beaton, and his servant, who was with him in the chamber; the door was opened. Beaton implored their pity; called on Norman Lesly, as less his enemy than the rest; pleaded the inviolable sanctity of his ecclesiastical character; but could not move the assassins from their purpose. Lesly of Parkhill first fiercely wounded him with several blows: Others rushed in to bathe their weapons in his blood. James Melvil, one among them, actuated more than the rest by the enthusiasm of religion; reminded him of the execution of Wishart; declared this slaughter to be the judgement of God upon Beaton, as the author of Wishart's death; and then, with several last blows, struck the victim to the ground, and put an end to his life and sufferings. The inhabitants of this city were by this time alarmed, and hastened to the castle. It was too late. The conspirators exposed the dead body of the slaughtered Cardinal from the walls: And the multitude retired in silence. The body was then deposited in a dungeon of the castle for future burial. Of the young men in the castle, the Regent's son was alone detained, that he might be a hostage for the safety of the conspirators. Aware that they had violated the laws civil and ecclesiastical;

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1586.

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1580.

ecclesiastical; assured that the vengeance of Beaton's party would be speedily directed against their heads; the conspirators fixed themselves in the castle; which they determined not to surrender till they should obtain an amnesty*.

The character of Beaton has been misrepresented.

THE assassins of Cardinal Beaton, have been more permanently and effectually successful in their vengeance, than the persecutors of Withart. Withart's death reflected a new lustre on the piety and virtue of his life: and the final success of the cause for which he suffered, has, not undeservedly, dignified his memory with all the honours of a saint and a martyr. But, the ecclesiastical establishment, in defence of which Beaton willingly exposed himself to much of that odium which whetted against him the daggers of assassination; was soon to be overthrown from the foundations, and trampled in the dust: and the fierce, malicious, revengeful zeal of the first Scottish Presbyterians, was to brand all those by whom the reformation had been opposed, as fiends the offspring of hell, or brutes fit only to wallow in vices of the most loathsome turpitude. History, in the hands of *pretended philosophy*, knowing no principle of sentiment or action, but the *pride of paradox*; in the hands of *clerical discretion*, anxious only

* Knox, p. 66. edit. 1732.: Lindsay, p. 298. edit. 3.: Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 542.

only to win every voice, by doing homage to every prejudice ; in the hands of *the mere man of letters*, ambitious solely to raise for himself a reputation, by refuting what others have affirmed ; can never redress those wrongs by which error, enmity, and prejudice, have too often laboured to consign contemporary worth to unmerited infamy. It is now, at last, high time to rescue the character of Beaton from those misrepresentations under which it has hitherto unjustly suffered.

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1580.

DAVID BEATON was born in an age, when the institution of universities in Scotland had already begun to diffuse new light and intelligence among the clergy of the established church. Educated under the care of his uncle, to whose honours and dignities he was afterwards to succeed ; his mind was, hence, early impregnated with all the learning then prevalent ; was instructed in the forms and duties of the ecclesiastical functions he was to administer ; was called to acquire vigour, activity, quick and piercing discernment, in the actual practice of affairs, before it could be rendered inept and torpid by a too long and uninterrupted application to recluse and contemplative study. His initiation in political business, was in that period of turbulence and intrigue, which intervened between the fall of James the Fourth at Flowden, and the æra when James the Fifth assumed into his

His true
character.

SECT. I. his own hands the reins of government. Beaton
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1580.

was sent as the ambassador of James in his most important negociations with foreign Courts, and still transacted his master's business with fidelity and success. When the reformation commenced, its preachers and converts were naturally regarded, by almost all the learned and the great in the Romish Church, as a mob of hare-brained enthusiasts, for whose heretical impiety there could no excuse be found, unless in their folly. The examples, however, of Germany and of England evinced, that *their* enthusiasm, combining itself with the interested views of Kings and Nobles, might shake the Catholic Church to its very foundations. In these circumstances, was it vice, was it impiety in Beaton, to have opposed the progress of innovation so dangerous in Scotland? to have interposed with all the power which his talents gave him, to prevent his Sovereign from entering into a close alliance with England, that threatened ruin to the Church? We may lament that the truths of the reformation failed to flash conviction through so powerful a mind. But, after a fair view of the facts, it is impossible to avoid acknowledging, that, although Beaton's interests and predominant passions might indeed, in this instance, happen to coincide with his duty; yet, he undeniably acted the part of a man of patriotism and virtue, when he persecuted the reformation,

formation, and persuaded his Sovereign to prefer the amity of France to that of England. His principles, his tenor of conduct, were the same when he strove to prevent the regency from falling into hands in which it might be abused to the ruin of the Church, or the subjugation of the national independency. High political virtue, as well as incomparable dexterity, were certainly displayed in those measures by which he won Arran from the friendship of England and of reformation, and once more gave triumph to the cause of the Catholic religion, and to the party which was devoted to the alliance of France. Had he urged persecution with a fury exceeding what the laws authorised, and what the anger and the fears of the Catholic clergy appeared to demand; he might then have been justly accused of a malignant cruelty of disposition. But, this he was far from doing. It cannot be doubted, that only a few of the obnoxious votaries of reformation were selected for trial and condemnation; in order that their fate might operate as a timely warning to the rest. Infinitely the greater number were overlooked and spared. Such persecution was indeed wicked: But, its evils originated in the errors and imperfection of the established religion, in the mental blindness of the age in general, not in the guilt of Beaton. The confidence reposed in him by his own party; the

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1580.

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the fury with which his life was conspired against, by those whom he opposed; the execrations with which the Presbyterian and the English party have, ever since, continued to load his memory; all concur to prove, that his talents and his political integrity, made him the grand support of the Catholic Church in Scotland, and the most zealous guardian of that national independency, which had been hitherto best maintained, by preferring the alliance of France to the insidious amity of England. The death of Beaton was indeed fortunate for the cause of reformation. That change in the Scottish system of religion and policy which he opposed, was, in the end, to prove beneficial to his country. But, as things must at that time have necessarily appeared to every intelligent friend of religion and of civil order; the measures which Beaton employed in his administration, were the wisest and the most upright that could well be contrived. On such grand occasions in human affairs, the policy of man is ever baffled by the progress of the schemes of Providence. Let us not refuse due praise to those, who, upon such occasions, act with as much wisdom and virtue as the imperfection of human nature will permit. Beaton was sumptuous and magnificent in his style of living: But, sumptuousness and magnificence might seem to become his dignified rank in the Catholic Church, and in the state. Hewas not rigidly chaste:

But,

But, this species of licentiousness was the crime of the age in general, and especially of the Roman Catholic clergy : It had its origin in the celibacy of those clergy : It was regarded as venial, and was scarcely deemed incompatible with the character of sainted virtue. We cannot palliate or excuse the vice : But we must impute the blame not so much to Beaton, as to the manners and opinions fashionable in that age. Taking him, then, *for all in all*, Beaton was undeniably a man of eminent talents, of illustrious public virtue, as free from vices as almost any man in the age and in the station and circumstances in which Beaton lived. It was rather his virtue than his vice, which drew upon him the odium of the reformers, and occasioned at last his assassination. If his heart was not altogether untouched by the pride of rank, of talents, of wealth, of power ; who is there that in his situation, and with his powers, would have felt differently ?

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1580.

THE news of Beaton's slaughter was quickly noised through the kingdom. By many of the favourers of the reformation in religion, and of the English interests, it was heard with gladness and triumphant exultation : by others of this party, the assassination was faintly condemned, as illegal and impious in the perpetrators, although not undeserved by the proud and guilty

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First senti-
ments
concern-
ing Bea-
ton's mur-
der.

priest who had fallen: others lamented it as im-
politic, likely to invigorate the energy of those
who had been thus criminally deprived of their
leader, and to give the colour of reason and ju-
stice to their future persecutions and complaints.
But, on the other hand, the Romish clergy; all
among the laity, who were, as yet, the faithful vo-
taries of the established Church; all the partizans
of France, whose interests were inseparably inter-
woven with those of the clergy; heard of the fa-
cilegious murder of a Prince of the Church, with
unutterable emotions of horror, indignation, and
almost despondent alarm for the interests of that
religion of which Beaton had been the vigilant
guardian. To meet and repulse an invasion,
about this time, dreaded from England, or to re-
taliate injuries recently suffered on the western
borders, Arran, the Regent, had assembled the
military vassals of the Crown in arms. They
were proceeding through the shire of Peebles, to-
wards the western marches, when tidings of the
slaughter of Beaton were received among them.
Earl Rothes, the father of Norman Lesly, was
among the nobles in this army. With one voice
it was demanded, that he should be brought to
trial on account of his son's crime, ere he were
permitted farther to accompany the other nobles,
whose honour was untainted, upon their destined
expedition. A Justiciary Court was immediately
constituted;

constituted : A jury of nobles investigated such evidence as could be produced to shew that the Earl had been conscious of Norman Lesly's base design : By their verdict, he was honourably acquitted. The expedition soon terminated in the capture of Langhope-castle. And the Regent, with the attending nobles, then returned in haste to Edinburgh, to dispose of the late Cardinal-Legate's benefices, and to avenge his murder,—or some, perhaps, to protect the murderers *.

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1580.

MESENTERS were, without delay, dispatched, to announce in France the fatal event, by which the party of France and of the established religion, had been robbed of its best support in Scotland ; and to solicit succours, as well against the triumphant assassins, as against the English who might be expected to aid them. In the distribution of Beaton's benefices, the Archbishoprick of St Andrew's, was bestowed on Hamilton Abbot of Paisley, and natural brother to the Regent ; while George Douglas, natural son to the Earl of Angus, was *postulated* to the abbey of Arbroath. Among the Scottish nobility, there was none who dared to propose an amnesty to the assassins in the castle of St Andrew's. The Queen-dowager and the clergy insisted, that measures the most rigorous

Measures
of the go-
vernment,
and of the
garrison in
the castle.

C c 2

and

* Lindsay, 299. : Lesly, lib. x. p. 459. : Buchanan, lib. xv p. 543.

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1580.

and coercive should be employed against them. Even those nobles who were regarded as friendly to the reformation and to England, seem to have been won by new favours, and by the hopes of a new ascendancy in the government, to enter zealously into the measures of that revenge, which prepared to execute public justice against Norman Lesly and his accomplices. Upon the refusal of these men to surrender the castle of St Andrew's, the Regent and his Council determined to besiege it. The siege was commenced. But, wanting suitable battering machines, as well as engineers skilful to conduct the operations of sieges, Arran and his followers long saw all their efforts baffled and derided by those who held the castle *.

Negocia-
tions.

In the mean time, the besieged had solicited and obtained aid from England. To grant this aid, and a promise of sending an invading army, which should draw away the Regent from the siege; were among the last acts of Henry the Eighth, relative to Scotland; for that Monarch soon after died. Young Hamilton, the eldest son of the Regent, was still detained by the conspirators in the castle, as a pledge for their own safety. Least, in the mean time, the Regent might happen to die, and thus leave the heir to his estate and

* Lesly, lib. x. p. 459. : Lindsay, 299. : Buchanan, xv. p. 544. &c. Knox, *ubi supra*.

and to the Regency, in the hands of rebels; his captive son was, by a solemn parliamentary act, declared to be incapable of succeeding, while in captivity, either to the Earldom of Arran, the Regency, or the Scottish Crown. Some attempts at conciliatory negotiation were also made between the besiegers and the besieged. But, whether both parties were alike insincere in the negotiation, or whether those in the castle did not indeed think that they could with safety surrender it, upon the only terms which dignity and resentment would permit the besiegers to offer; the attempts at treaty proved fruitless. The besieged trusted to new succours to arrive by sea and land from England. The besiegers expected galleys, soldiers, artillery, and engineers, to come as quickly as possible from France *.

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1580.

THE auxiliary forces, and other supplies from France, in due time arrived under the command of Strozzi, a distinguished Italian officer then in the French service. But, amid those intrigues which filled the English Court, about the time of the death of Henry the Eighth, and of the first settlement of the government of his infant successor; the brave Scots, besieged in the castle of St Andrew's, were, for a season, forgotten or neglected;

* Knox, p. 66.: Lindfry, 298. 299.: Lessly, lib. x. p. 459 460.

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A. D.
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1550.

The castle
taken.

August
1547.

ed ; left without new supplies of ammunition and provisions ; relieved by no diversion of an English army on the borders, which might have called the besiegers away to oppose invasion. All communication between the town of St Andrew's and the castle, was now cut off. By the direction of Strozzi, the besiegers mounted their guns upon the steeple of St Salvator's college, and upon the walls of the Abbey church ; and formed a battery, consisting of two Scottish, with six French canons, in a situation where its discharges could be effectually levelled against the castle-walls. Within a few hours, the incessant discharge of the artillery thus disposed, made such breaches in the walls, that the besiegers could no longer hope for safety in continued resistance. They surrendered to Strozzi, on condition that their lives should be spared. The spoils of the castle, which was still richly furnished with various wealth, became the reward of the French soldiers. The captives of war taken in the castle, were carried away into France ; and, among them, the famous John Knox, who had first begun to exercise the ministerial functions soon after the death of Cardinal Beaton. In France, some were condemned to the galleys, others met a milder fate. Thus carried in captivity from their native country, condemned to circumstances of misery, and regarded with horror and detestation, as wretches polluted with the guilt

guilt of murder and sacrilege; few of the unfortunate men, by whose crime Beaton had fallen, were ever after able to regain the good opinion of mankind, or to rise again to circumstances of prosperity. The superstition of the age, credulously or malignantly, imputed their misfortunes to the judgement of Heaven, visibly stretching forth its hand to punish guilt so atrocious. Norman Lesly, perhaps the most gallant and generous among them all, entered as a soldier into the French service, and, after performing many heroic exploits, at last prematurely fell in fight, admired and lamented by all his fellow-soldiers. The castle was, in obedience to the canons of the Church, razed to the ground. This triumph over conspiracy and rebellion, and this seasonable service rendered to the Scots by the French; seemed to confirm the stability of the Catholic establishment of religion, and greatly to increase the favour in which the French had been before with the Scottish nation *.

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A. D.
1543 to
1580.

EDWARD *the* SIXTH, a youth as yet under tuition, now sat on the English throne. The *Duke of Somerset* †, his maternal uncle, was Protector of the kingdom and of the King's person. The arrangements of the new government had been, by this time, fixed; and

Somerset

* Lindfay, p. 300.: Knox, 76. 77.: Lesly, p. 459.: Melville's Memoirs, p. 33.

† Lately Earl of Hertford,

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Somerfet and his Council now turned their attention to Scottish affairs ; with a determination, still, if possible, to obtain that marriage between their own young King and the infant Queen of the Scots, which had been the favourite measure of Henry, ever since the death of the late King of Scotland. But, the castle of St Andrew's no longer remained to be delivered from siege. The French had now the ascendancy in Scotland. Those who administered the Scottish government, were at open war with England. Somerfet, in the present temper of the two nations, knew no more conciliatory plans of policy, than those which had been employed by his late master. He levied an army of eighteen thousand men, cavalry and infantry ; equipped a fleet of sixty sail of ships ; and, with this potent force, came to compel the Scots to accept such terms of national friendship, and nuptial alliance with young Edward, as he should chuse to prescribe. While the English army entered Scotland at Berwick, and advanced without meeting opposition, nearly as far as Musselburgh ; the fleet attending its progress, sailed into the bay of Forth, and approached the very mouth of the frith. Somerfet hoping, that the terror of the invasion, even without farther hostilities, might alone be sufficient to bring the Scots to accept his proposals ; addressed a letter to the Scottish Regent, in which

was

Invasion
of Scot-
land by
the Eng-
lish.

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was expressed, a willingness, on the part of the English, to conclude a treaty of peace, and retire home; if the Scots would only agree, not to send their young Queen to France, but to educate her among themselves, till she should have attained maturity of years, to become the bride of Edward. Even these conditions, favourable as they may seem to have been to the Scots, in the relative circumstances in which the Scots and English at that moment stood; yet, could not be accepted by either the party of the clergy, or the friends of France. Arran, held steady to these interests, by his brother, by the Queen-dowager, and by other counsellors; concealed from the people the purport of this message from the English Protector; and persuaded them, that Somerset's purpose was to carry their young Queen by force away. It was resolved to muster the whole strength of the nation, and repulse the invaders. All the military vassals of the Crown were hastily summoned to assemble in arms. To the remotest Highlands and isles, the alarm and the call were quickly communicated. Among the clans, a *flaming brand* rapidly transmitted from hand to hand, and from hamlet to hamlet, quickly excited those brave warriors to seize their weapons of warfare, and to rush with impetuous haste from their mountains, for the defence of their infant Queen. Arran was soon able to muster an host of forty thousand men in

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arms, under the subordinate command of almost all the principal nobility of the kingdom. It was the cause as well of religion, as of the national independence, for which they were to fight; and the ecclesiastics, in great numbers, therefore, mingled with the lay-soldiers, in the battle-array*.

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1580.

THE English were encamped on Carbury-hill, not far from Musselburgh. The Scottish army marched out to Edmonstone-Edge, near Inveresk. Angus, one of the bravest among the Scottish nobles, was at the head of ten thousand men who formed the van-guard: a much more numerous host, commanded by the Regent in person, composed the main army: The Earl of Huntley, with ten thousand more, led up the rear. Already had the English almost entirely consumed whatever provisions, either the open country behind them, or the stores conveyed by their fleet, could supply. Somerset saw himself reduced to the necessity of conquering or making a peace, in order to save his army from destruction. But a very little less of headlong impatience in the Scots, would have insured them triumph, without loss or bloodshed. They chose a strong position for their camp, and for some very short space of time, watch

fully

* Lesly, lib. x. p. 362.: Lindsay, p. 301.: Goodwin, p. 215.
Knox, p. 78.: Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 546. 547.: Hume, p. 271.

fully awaited the movements of the English host. The English sent out a detachment to provoke their opponents to combat, and to draw them from that cautious plan of operations which they seemed to have adopted. A band of the Scottish troops were detached to meet the English squadron; and a skirmishing combat ensued, in which equal numbers perished on both sides, and from which neither party came off victorious. This contest served to inflame the fury of the Scots, beyond the possibility of longer delay from engaging in a general battle. Angus, with some reluctance, yielding to the re-iterated orders of the Regent, and to the wishes of his troops; at last led down the Scottish vanguard from the scene of their encampment, to assail the English in *their* camp; from which the Scots now feared, only, lest they should retire by stealth, and make their escape. In the harbour at the mouth of the Esk, lay the English fleet at anchor: And the Scots, in order to attack the Protector's camp, were necessarily to pass along the bridge over the river; and for some length of way, in a line in which the artillery of the English ships might be brought to bear upon them. Lord Clinton, who commanded in the fleet, overlooked not the occasion. By the discharge of the cannons from the English galleys, the troops in the middle and rear divisions of the Scottish army were greatly an-

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Battle of
Pinkie.

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1542 to
1580.

noyed on their march ; losing not a few of their number, and among these, the master of Graham, and the brave Gordon of Lochinvar. Angus, in the mean time, with his spearmen, having escaped this danger, advanced in close order up the hill of Inveresk, towards the fields of Drummore and Walliford; where the English were preparing to meet them. Lord Grey, with the English cavalry, armed with short lances, advanced to meet their first shock, and, if possible, to break through their ranks, and scatter them in disorders. But, the Scots withstood, unmoved, the assault of Grey and his troops. Two hundred English soldiers fell. The rest were with difficulty persuaded to make a second attempt upon the flank of the Scottish phalanx. Aware of their intentions, the Scots, without deserting their ranks, made a declining movement, in order that they might still present their front to the assailants. By the forces advancing to support them, under the command of Arran and Argyle, this movement of the Scottish vanguard was hastily mistaken for the retrocession of flight. Fancying that their fellows in arms before them were fleeing; the middle column of the Scots thus turned and fled. At sight of this, Angus's troops, already almost victorious, masters of not a few English standards, and having seen Lord Grey, with some of his most gallant officers, fall mortally wounded on the earth ; were nevertheless

less alarmed, confounded, made for some mo-
 ments incapable of pressing with the same earnest-
 ness as before, upon the foe. Somerset, that in-
 stant, marking the flight of the Scots behind, and
 the beginning confusion of their spearmen in
 front; came on with his main army: and his bow-
 men, by the discharge of their arrows, his fusi-
 leers with their muskets, his artillery from an ad-
 vantageous position on the side of the hill, quickly
 made the disorder of the forces under Angus com-
 plete, and drove them into general flight. The
 terror and dispersion in which the Scots thus fled,
 made it impossible for their leaders to rally them
 for a retreat by which the enemy's pursuit might,
 at least in part, have been checked. Now began
 the most dreadful carnage of the day. The Eng-
 lish followed hard after the fugitives, and slaugh-
 tered them without resistance; sometimes refusing
 quarter to those who begged it, sometimes slaying
 in cold blood, those to whom quarter had been
 granted. Not fewer than ten thousand Scots were
 slain in this fatal battle of *Pinkey*, or of *Inveresk*.
 Many were made prisoners. The English army
 on the following day, advanced their camp to the
 immediate vicinity of Leith *.

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IN

* Leffly, lib. x. p. 462.—464.: Lindsay, p. 302.—305.: Buch-
 znan, p. 547. 548.: Knox, p. 78. 79.: Goodwin, p. 216. 217.:
 Hume, p. 272. 273.: Statistical Account, vol. xvi. p. 6. 7.:
 Patten's Journal.

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IN the consternation of this defeat, the Scots fled wherever chance and terror directed their steps. The Earl of Angus escaped, on the night after the battle, to Calder. Many took refuge in the castle of Dalkeith. The Queen-dowager, with D'Oysel the French ambassador, having awaited in Edinburgh the issue of the engagement, were no sooner apprized of the route of the Scots, than they fled in haste to Stirling. Arran, with the Archbishop of St Andrew's, soon followed to the

Flight and
consterna-
tion of the
Scots.

same place. By the persuasion of the Queen-mother, the French ambassador, and some nobles of the French party, the young Queen, deemed even in Stirling-castle insecure, was sent with her mother, and with the Lords Livingston and Erskine, to a royal castle on an islet in Lochlomond, which was supposed inaccessible to the English. Exertions were then made to levy new forces. The Regent saw himself compelled to yield in almost all things to the wishes of the Queen-mother and the partizans of France. More irritated than subdued in their spirits by what they had thus suffered from English invasion; the Scots eagerly resolved to throw themselves into the arms of France, and to send an embassy demanding aid from the French King, upon such conditions on their part, as should easily induce him to prefer the open defence of Scotland, to continued peace with the English. It was thus, that a vic-

tory

tory won by the forces of England; which, improved by skilful policy, might have made Scotland and its young Queen their own; instead of having this effect; contributed more powerfully than any other cause, to frustrate all the purposes with which the English had renewed the war *.

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IN the mean time, the English, and Somerset their leader; neglecting to seize the critical moment after the route of the Scots, when the renewal of those offers which they had made before the battle, might have made the vanquished wholly theirs; were likewise restrained, by other circumstances, from prosecuting their victory, by a pursuit into the interior parts of the Scottish kingdom. They wanted provisions, military stores, and troops: the cares of his private interests, and of the internal government, urgently demanded Somerset's presence at home. Leith, therefore, they found it necessary to evacuate: Upon Edinburgh they had ventured to make no attempt. But, while their land-army, little annoyed by the skirmishing pursuit of the Scots, returned home by the way of Berwick; their fleet was left to hover on the coast, block up the harbours, and intercept any vessels sailing to or from France. As the army retired, they took, fortified, and strongly garrisoned

Retreat of
the Eng-
lish.

* Lesly, lib. x. 464. 465.; Buchanan, lib. xv. 548.; Lindsay, 305.; Knox, 79. &c.

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garrisoned Haddington. Fastcastle, and the castle of Hume, were likewise taken and garrisoned.

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At the towns of Lawder and Roxburgh they built forts. All Berwickshire and East-Lothian thus remained at their mercy. On the islands of Inch-Keith and Inch-Colm, in the Frith of Forth, fortifications were also formed, and English garrisons placed. Works of great strength were in the same manner formed at Brughtay; so as to subject the passage into that frith entirely to the controul of the English. These were all the advantages gained by Somerset's expedition. Had he been to deal with the Scots alone, without foreign resources, and without allies; it is not impossible that even these advantages against them might have, in the end, reduced the Scots to accept such terms of peace as he should have chosen to dictate *.

BUT, the hopes of making the young Scottish Queen their captive, or winning her for a bride to their young Monarch, were soon to be for ever lost to the English. Amid the fears of the nation, the disgrace reflected by ill success on the Regent's counsels, and the increasing influence of the Queen-mother; the tuition and the marriage of the young Scottish Queen had been already offered to France. They were eagerly accepted. A fleet was speedily equipped by the command of Henry the Second, who

* Goodwin, 217.: Lindsay, 305.: Knox, 754.

who had some time before succeeded his father, Francis the First, on the French throne : and was destined to convey to Scotland an army of auxiliary French forces, sufficiently powerful to repulse the invasions of the English ; and again to convey from Scotland to France, the Scottish Princess, under protection so strong, that it might not be possible for the English to make her their captive. In the spring of the year one thousand five hundred and forty-eight, landed at Leith, an auxiliary French force, of five thousand infantry, and a thousand horsemen, under the command of M. D'Effè. Every effort of policy was employed to impose silence on whatever scruples might still hold any of the Scottish nobles reluctant to confide so precious a hostage as their young Queen, to the custody of their foreign allies, in a distant Court. Persuasion, artful pretence, the lavish distribution of money, the diligent use of all the weights and springs of influence, the general indignation against England, the want of talents in Arran the Regent, the advantage which his brother of St Andrew's found in pursuing measures such as could alone promise to ensure the safety of the established religion ; united every voice in favour of the French alliance. The presence of the French fleet and army served farther to overawe any murmurs which the party of the reformers might still have been disposed to

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1548.

Queen
Mary sent
to France.

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excite. At last, young Mary sailed from the frith of Clyde, under the protection of the Lords Erskine and Livingston, and with a company of noble matrons and damsels, who were pleased to compose the Court of their Queen, and to share with her the dangers of the voyage. The voyage was safe and prosperous. The French fleet conveyed their illustrious passengers in safety to the harbour of Brest, whence Mary and her attendants were immediately conducted to the French Court at St Germain. A suitable household-establishment was without delay assigned for Mary. Her education was to employ the cares of her guardians and attendants, till she should attain a fit age for the consummation of the marriage, in which she was now destined to be united with the Dauphin of France, the son of Henry the Second *.

Continued
hostilities
between
the Scots,
the French,
and the
English.

In the mean time, however, the war between the Scots and the English was still prosecuted by various mutual hostilities. From the different fortresses which the English still retained on the Scottish coasts, their garrisons made continual excursions, and laid waste the territories circumjacent. Arran laid siege to the English fortress of Brughday; but was soon obliged to relinquish his enterprise in disgrace. On the side of the western marches,

* Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 551; Lesly, lib. x. p. 470.; Lindlay, p. 300.

marches, the Earl of Lennox, with an English force, made a sudden inroad into Dumfries-shire and Galloway; and in spite of whatever Maxwell, Johnston, and Murray of Cockpool, could do to oppose him, carried devastation, carnage, and terror, far and wide through those districts. No sooner had the French forces landed, than they prepared to evince to their Scottish allies, what important advantages were to be derived from their aid. From Leith and Edinburgh, they speedily marched to besiege the English in Haddington. Haddington, the principal strong place which the English possessed in Scotland, was long gallantly defended against all the efforts of the besieging French and Scots. Assault, stratagem, blockade, were repeatedly tried by the besiegers, but tried in vain. With the English garrison, there were in the town, some Italian engineers at this time in the English service, whose skill contributed not less usefully to the defence of the town, than did that of the French engineers to the prosecution of the siege. Reinforcements, with supplies of provisions and military stores, were repeatedly sent from England, and, in spite of the vigilance and force of the besiegers, successfully introduced into the town. The French, unwilling to disappoint those hopes which their allies had conceived of the advantages to be derived from their aid; the Scots resolute to expel

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1580.

Prosecu-
tion of the
war with
England.

SECT. L the hated English beyond their ancient bounda-
 CHAP. VI. ries; obstinately prolonged the siege, in spite of

A. D. every discouragement; still returned to it in new
 1542 to force and with augmented rage; and expected,
 1580, by one means or another, to accomplish at length
 their purpose. They might have perhaps long
 persisted in their efforts, without success, if a pesti-
 lential distemper had not swept away the garri-
 son in such numbers, as finally discouraged the
 English from replacing it or struggling longer to
 keep possession of the town. They set its build-
 ings on fire, and abandoned it amid the conflagra-
 tion to the Scots. During the lengthened siege
 of the town, the warfare did not languish in
 other parts. A naval force sent by Somerset, to
 reinforce the garrisons which blocked up the friths
 of the Forth and the Tay; were defeated, with con-
 siderable loss, in a descent they made upon the
 coasts of Fife. The castles of Hume and Fast-
 castle, were, by stratagem, wrested from the hands
 of the English. On the northern coast, in the vic-
 inity of Montrose, the attempts of the English
 from their fleet, were frustrated and repulsed in
 the same manner as in Fife. But, the garrison of
 Brughday were, nevertheless, reinforced; and were
 thus enabled to make themselves masters of the
 contiguous town of Dundee; which they consu-
 med with fire, when they found that they could
 not safely, nor conveniently retain it in their pos-
 session.

session. Jedburgh was at length recovered by D'Effè, out of the hands of the English: and the Scots, with their allies, began to retaliate, by incursions into England, all the evils they had suffered from English invasion. At last, even Inch-Keith, and Brughtay-castle, were retaken from the English. But, while the fortrefs at Lauder, the last strong-hold which these invaders retained in Scotland, was vigorously besieged; news was received of the conclusion of a peace between England and France, in which the Scots, as allies of France, were also included. The English by this treaty consented to retire from the territories of the Scots. Lauder-castle was, in consequence, amicably delivered up to the Scots, at a time indeed, when, but for the peace, the garrison must, perforce, have surrendered it upon harder conditions. The peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh, in the month of April, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty *.

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1550.

1550.

BUT, although thus far successful by the aid of their French allies, the Scots did not always patiently endure the presence of these strangers in their country. The languages, the national manners, the dresses, the humours of the French and the Scots, being different, had an unavoidable

* Buchanan, p. 550.—555.: Lindsay, 305.—509.: Lecky, p. 470.—483.: Goodwin, &c.

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1550.

Diffensions
between
the French
and the
Scots.

able tendency to prevent the mutual intercourse of their alliance, when they were thus closely associated together, from being carried on with perpetual, uninterrupted harmony. Not less robust or brave than the French, the Scots were, however, less skilful in the art of war; because the modern tactics connected with the use of fire-arms, had been, at this time, much more cultivated upon the continent than in Britain. From this consideration arose a pride in the minds of the French warriors, a jealousy in the hearts of the Scots, which produced continual variance between them, when serving in the same army, and living in the same country. Besides, however the party of the reformers might be, at this period, humbled, however odious the English might be, to a great part of the Scottish nation; yet the reformers, and the secret partizans of England, retained still sufficient influence to foment the unavoidable discontents and disagreements between the Scots and their allies. A fray arising, on a particular occasion, in the streets of Edinburgh, between a few riotous Frenchmen and some citizens of the town, increased, till Hamilton of Stenhouse, provost of the city, and captain likewise of the castle, interposed his authority, and threatened to send the Frenchmen to prison. Ere he could carry his threats into execution, their comrades hastened in great numbers

numbers to protect them. The citizens of the town took arms in support of their provost. A bloody rencounter ensued, in which the provost, with his son, and several other respectable citizens, were slain. This incident provoked the minds of the Scots in general, to a high degree of indignation, against the French. All the prudence of the French commanders, and of those leaders in the Scottish councils who were devoted to France, became henceforth necessary to prevent the Scots from becoming even more hostile to their allies than to their English enemies*.

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1580.

NOR was the government of the kingdom, in general, conducted, during this period of war and turbulence, with that wisdom and impartial justice, which might have confirmed and sanctified the Regent's authority. Acts of violence were committed among the nobles, which Arran either wanted power to restrain and punish, or was won by bribes and by dishonest motives of interest, to overlook. The Queen-dowager and the French party, were willing to make Arran the tool of their purposes; yet laboured diligently to weaken his influence, and to blast his reputation, that he might never again set himself at the head of a party in opposition to them. His brother,

Weak government
of Arran.

* Lindsay, p. 308.: Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 553.: Lesly, lib. x. p. 474.

SECT. I. then, the Archbishop of St Andrew's, content to
CHAP. VI. guard the interests of the established Church, saw

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1580.

it necessary to resign to the Queen-mother and her partizans, the chief influence in the affairs of the state. The party of the reformers, whom Arran had formerly betrayed and abandoned, still hated and despised him. His reputation and authority sank every day lower. Things were hastening into that condition in regard to him, in which it would be impossible for him to avoid a degradation, which the Queen-mother, and the agents of France, were already preparing for him*.

Mary of
Lorraine
visits
France.

BUT, the war was now at an end. It was the alliance of France which appeared to have saved the Scots from the humiliation of seeing their religion overturned, and their country made a subject province of England. Gratitude for these important services naturally maintained a majority of the patriotic Scots, still faithful to the interests of the French. Weak and unpopular, Arran was not likely, either to throw himself again into the arms of the friends of the reformation, or to form around him an independent party, who should support his authority and his pretensions, equally against the ambitious views of the English, and the ensnaring, subjugating amity of France. Besides, Mary of Lorraine, the Queen-mother, had,

* Lestæi, lib. x. p. 486. 487. : Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 532.

had, for some time, acted with a conciliatory gentleness toward the friends of the reformation, which had made them conceive hopes of her conversion, and which rendered her as little disagreeable to them, as any person could well be, that was not actually one of themselves. In this state of the kingdom, and of the parties aspiring to direct its government, Mary, in the autumn immediately subsequent to the conclusion of the peace, went on a voyage to France, in order to visit her daughter, and to concert with the French Court, some new measures for the future government of Scotland. She sailed in the fleet which conveyed away the last of the auxiliary troops, whose presence had enabled the Scots to support the war against England. The Earls of Huntley, Caillies, Marshall, Sutherland, and not a few others from among the most eminent of the Scottish nobility, gladly accompanied her. She was received with the most pleasing kindness and respect, at the French Court, by her daughter, now rising fast above the years of childhood, by her brothers, the most illustrious among the Princes at the French Court, by the Monarch himself, Henry the Second of France, who was pleased with the prospect of a new kingdom to be added to his dominions, by the marriage of his son with the lovely heiress of the Scottish Crown. Her Scottish attendants found a welcome equally kind and gra-

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The
Queen-
dowager
visits the
French
Court.

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cious. To them, all in the Court of Henry, put on for a time, an appearance, as if they had been admitted into the seat of unmixed love and joy, into the presence of some beneficent divinities *.

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1542 to
1580.

She aspires
to the re-
gency.

IN this temper mutually of the French Court, and of its noble Scottish guests, towards one another ; it was concerted to raise Mary of Lorraine to the regency of Scotland. Arran, the next heir to the Scottish Crown, enjoyed advantages in his present station, which might render him hereafter a too powerful opponent to the views of France. The regency of her daughter's dominions seemed to be the most naturally proper situation for the Queen-dowager of Scotland : Allied as she was to the family of Guise, and about to be allied to the royal family of France, Mary might be expected to administer the Scottish government in a more perfect subserviency to the French interests, than any other vicegerent would : Her elevation to this dignity would gradually prepare the Scots to submit to the government of French rulers and counsellors alone : Arran, unfit for the administration of sovereign power, despised by the Scottish nation in general, abhorred by the friends to religious reformation, not trusted by the votaries of the established Church ; would be unable to main-
tain

* Lesly, lib. x. p. 484. 485. : Lindsay, 309. : Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 556. 257.

tain himself Regent, in opposition to the wishes of the young Queen and the Court of France : Even Arran might probably be won to consent to his own degradation : acceptable as Mary of Lorraine had already made herself to the Scots in general, might she not, if duly aided by the money and influence of France, easily gain their unanimous consent to submit to her government * ?

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1580.

UPON such considerations, and with these views, those nobles, by whom Mary had been attended into France, were first persuaded to agree to her wishes. At the French Court were, fortunately, at the same time, several friends to the Scottish Regent, and agents for him, to whom the ambitious hopes of the mother of their Queen, and the wishes of the French Sovereign and his ministers, were soon, with persuasive insinuation communicated. Panter, Bishop of Ross, who had for some time resided as ambassador from the Scottish Regent at the French Court ; Carnegie of Kinnaird, who had been more recently sent thither an extraordinary ambassador for a particular purpose ; with Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, who was at this time likewise in Paris ; were those persons through whom Mary endeavoured to prevail with Arran to resign to her the regency of Scotland. Having been

Negociations with
Arran.

F f 2

gained

* Buchanan, lib. xvi. sub initio : Melville's Memoirs, p. 28.

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gained to favour Mary's wishes, they were dispatched with magnificent proposals from the French King to Arran : The Dukedom of Chatelherault to himself and his family, as a hereditary fief ; to his eldest son, the command of all the Scottish forces in the French service ; a large pension to be paid from the Crown of France ; a formal recognition, by the Scottish parliament, of the rights of his family to the regal succession, next after the daughter of James the Fifth and her heirs ; a solemn parliamentary approbation and ratification of all the acts of his administration in the regency ; these were the principal conditions offered from the French Court in behalf of Mary of Lorraine, to induce the Earl of Arran to resign into her hands, the reins of the vicegerent government of Scotland. Even these offers, however, appeared to Arran but a poor compensation for the loss of that power of which he was required to divest himself. He hesitated, and delayed, and sought counsel from his friends, for the purpose rather of delay than of instruction. But, his brother lay sick of a disease which threatened to prove mortal : He was himself neither loved nor honoured by the nation : Since so many of the most eminent among the other nobles were already gained to approve of the exaltation of the Queen-dowager ; it seemed vain for him to struggle against the power of France and the wishes

wishes of his country : If frustrated in their attempt to win, it was probable that the friends of France would henceforth strive only to ruin—him. Rather compelled by fear, than won by the allurements held out to his avarice and ambition, Arran at last signified to the Bishop of Ross, his readiness to relinquish the regency upon the conditions offered. The news was speedily made known at the French Court. The nobles who had attended Mary thither, were gratified with new honours and emoluments, such as satisfied all their wishes. The destined Queen-regent soon after took leave of the French Court, and returned with a princely train through England into Scotland, to take possession of her new dignity and power*.

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HER return was much more grateful to the nation in general, than to the Regent. To the disciples of the reformed religion she had been already humane : to the Catholic religion she was faithful : wealth, honours, influence in the state, were to be hoped by the Scottish nobles, through no other channels, than from her recommendation to her daughter and to the French King. The prospect of her approaching exaltation to the regency, now publicly known, was joyfully received by all. Even the English, still at peace with

Mary returns to Scotland.

* Lesly, lib. x. p. 486. 487. 488. : Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 558.

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Arran di-
vests him-
self of the
regency.

with France, and being conciliated by the kindness and courtesy of her manners, when she lately passed through England; would excite no commotions or intrigues in opposition to her advancement.

But Arran had agreed with extreme reluctance to resign his vicegerent authority, even for all those emoluments, and that impunity which were, in compensation, stipulated to him. The regency gratified at once his avarice and his ambition, in a thousand ways, from which, by its resignation, he would be for ever shut out. He was, after Mary Stuart, the next heir to the Scottish throne. There were many probabilities, that the life of a young and delicate female, such as she at this time was, might be cut off, before she should have offspring to inherit her rights and possessions. How infinitely easier, and more safely, might Arran, upon the event of Mary's death, in such circumstances, ascend from the vicarial to the supreme dominion over Scotland,—than if the administration of the government should have already passed into other hands, and he should have been, previously reduced to the weak and humble condition of a private man? His brother, the Archbishop of St Andrew's, now recovered from a severe illness, under which he had lately laboured, was passionately adverse to a measure so unsafe and so derogatory from Arran's honour, as the resignation of the regency, which he was now required to make.

make. The faction of England and of the reform-
 ers began, perhaps, to instil new doubts and fears
 into Arran's ear. Conscious guilt, and natural
 imbecillity, made him also suspicious of the good
 faith of the Queen-dowager, her friends, and the
 French Court. Could he, by any means, have
 retained his power in security, he would not
 have scrupled now to disappoint the hopes which
 he had excited, and to recede from all his engage-
 ments. But, the period had already arrived, at
 which the young Queen would, by the laws of
 her country, acquire the right of chusing new
 guardians and ministers for herself; and when
 Arran's authority as Regent, must, of conse-
 quence, necessarily cease. The agents of Mary,
 while they promised impunity, and all the stipu-
 lated honours and emoluments to his ready fulfil-
 ment of his engagement; threatened to his refrac-
 tory recession from it, such a judicial investigation of
 the demerits of his administration, as should not fail
 to cover him with disgrace, and to overwhelm him
 in ruin. The voice of the nation was likewise ad-
 verse to all the ambitious wishes of a Regent,
 whose administration had been, to all parties,
 odious and contemptible. He resigned an autho-
 rity which he found it impossible to retain. Mary
 of Lorraine assumed the regency, with the appro-
 bation of a majority of all parties in the kingdom.
 The French court began now to regard Scotland
 as wholly theirs. A new order of great events
 was

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SECT. I. was about to open upon this narrow theatre of
 CHAP. VI. warfare and policy *.

A D.

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First mea-
 sures of the
 new re-
 gency.

IT is curious and interesting to remark, in the history of the fortunes of human nature; that men never sooner obtain the full completion of their wishes, than the tide of their prosperity begins to recede; those very events from which they expected permanent and unmixed grandeur and felicity, proving the source to them of misery and disgrace: And that this happens, not by any mysterious arrangement of the relations of things, but by a natural necessity, the links and ties of which we can often easily and clearly trace. While Mary of Lorraine possessed no official part in the administration of the Scottish government; she had gradually won every heart from Arran; and had gained an authority of love, esteem, and influence, far more powerful than that which he derived from the rights and prerogatives of the regency. But scarcely had she accepted Arran's resignation in her favour, and begun to exercise the offices of Queen-regent, when the attachment of her friends began to wax colder, and the numbers and the zeal of the partizans of France to diminish. Should she leave the principal ministerial offices of the government in the hands of the Scottish nobility; the authority of her

* *Lindsay*, p. 310.: *Buchanan*, lib. xvi. p. 559.: *Lestæi*, lib. x. p. 482.

her regency would be still but nominal; nor would the power of France be established among the Scots, with that stability and effective force, which had been expected from her advancement.

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It is probable, that the whole system of government she was to pursue, and that distribution of its offices which she was to make, had been some time before concerted with the French Court, and with those of the Scottish nobles, whom honours, presents, pensions, and caresses, had won to devote themselves to its interests. Immediately after her accession to the regency, therefore, she nominated Villemore, Rubay, and Bonot, three Frenchmen of her Court, to be respectively, master of accompts, keeper of the seals, and sheriff or governor of the Orkney Isles: Appointing, at the same time, to other important offices, some of the most distinguished among the nobles and clergy who were native Scotsmen. This measure, however necessary, instantly excited violent murmurs among those whose hopes had been disappointed, and those who were interested to seize every opportunity of depreciating the new government. Such murmurs, and the discontents which they expressed, could not indeed shake an authority so well supported, as that of the Queen-regent at this time was. But, they served, like the first breaking out of waters over a mound, as the beginning to fatal dissensions, convulsions, and

SECT. I. revolutionary tumults, which were speedily to en-
 CHAP. VI. sue *.

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Progress
 of the re-
 formation.

It was from the party of those who favoured a reformation in religion, that the first successful opposition to the Queen-regent's measures, was to arise. During the progress of that train of artifices and negotiations, by which the views of France, in regard to Scotland, had been carried thus far into prosperous effect; a forbearance had been observed towards the missionaries and the disciples of the reformation, by which its propagation had been greatly favoured, by which it had been suffered to fix itself in new stability, and to grow up to more vigorous strength. The state of religion in England, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, who was unfortunately snatched away by death, in early youth, from the love and admiration of his subjects, contributed not a little to aid the progress of the reformation among the Scots. Edward's tutors and ministers, amid their own projects of private ambition, boldly completed that reform of the ecclesiastical establishment of England, which Henry the Eighth had but capriciously and imperfectly begun. The books, the preachers of the reformed religion, easily passed out of England into Scotland. It was in part,

* Lessly, lib. x. p. 482.: Buchanan, p. 562.: Lindsay, p. 310, &c.

part, therefore, to prevent the party of the reformation, in Scotland, from throwing themselves again into the arms of England, that Mary of Lorraine had for some time discouraged the persecution of heresy among the Scots. Even in France, the necessary opposition to the house of Austria, had for a while engaged the French government to feign ignorance of that rapidity with which the opinions of the reformers were diffeminated, and even to shew, at times, an equivocal disposition to favour the reformation. All these circumstances and events had promoted its success among the Scots; and the reformers were consequently now a much more powerful party, than when their extermination was threatened by Cardinal Beaton.

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In the mean time, Mary Stuart, the young Scottish Queen, grew up to that age at which she was nubile. No maiden in the French Court rivalled her in beauty. She had acquired all those accomplishments, which the ordinary plan for female education in that age, could bestow. The vivacity, and the quick apprehension of her opening mind, were such as to heighten all the charms of her beauty, and to give full effect to all the pains employed in her education. Young Francis, the Dauphin, eldest son to Henry

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of the
young
Queen to
the Dau-
phin of
France.

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the Second of France, was already impatient to receive his destined bride. Her uncles of the house of Guise, were not less desirous to see a marriage accomplished, from which they expected to derive new influence in their Sovereign's councils. Montmorency, the rival of the Guises in Henry's favour, suggested objections to the match, and would gladly have consigned the niece of his adversaries to the arms of a meaner spouse. But, the charms of Mary Stuart, the influence of her uncles, the vast hopes and designs which Henry was by them taught to connect with the idea of the union of the Scottish crown to that of France; prevailed over the opposition of Montmorency: and it was finally determined in the French Monarch's Council, to make the Dauphin the husband of the young Queen of the Scots. The Scottish Parliament consenting, in the name of the nation, and at the earnest persuasion of the Queen-mother and the partizans of France, to this marriage of their Queen; sent commissioners to the French Court formally to notify their assent, to procure the agreement of Mary and her bridegroom to certain conditions which were deemed necessary to guard the national liberties, and to witness the celebration of the nuptials. Aware of the danger of disagreeing or contending with the high-minded nobility of Scotland, at this critical moment, the French King and his Council

Council readily assented, in the name of the Dauphin and his bride, to whatever conditions were insisted upon by the Scottish commissioners; even to conditions, which, if faithfully observed, would render the acquisition of the inheritance of Mary, very little gainful to the French Monarch. Secret deeds were, however, procured at the same time from the young Scottish Queen, which, if they could be at any future period enforced, in opposition to solemn and public treaties and concessions, would reduce Scotland to be one of the most completely subject fiefs of the French Crown. The marriage was then celebrated. Within a short time after its celebration, an embassy was sent to demand of the Scottish Parliament, to recognize the Dauphin as possessing, in consequence of his marriage, all that legal authority over the kingdom of his spouse, which, by the practice and maxims of the feudal law, the husband usually possessed throughout Europe, over the estates of his wife. Their demands were with some hesitation granted. Francis and Mary were now King and Queen of Scotland. Scotland was thus a dependency of the French Crown. It was now to be governed, if possible, by the will of the French Monarch and his Council: and all the designs which the Guises had built upon the accomplishment of this marriage for

their

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SECT. I. their niece, were to be gradually carried into
 CHAP. VI. effect *.

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Admini-
 stration
 of the
 Queen-
 regent.

WHILE the train of measures connected with this marriage, thus proceeded; Mary of Lorraine exerted all her care and talents in the administration of the Scottish government, at home. Huntley, lately the favourite agent of those measures of policy, by which she had discredited Arran's administration; shewing himself refractory to some of her commands, and being, by his power in the north-east, qualified to thwart and weaken her authority; was, on the pretence of his misconduct in a Justiciary-commission against some of the clans in his neighbourhood, brought to trial, condemned, divested of all his offices, and commanded to go for a limited time in exile, to France, but afterwards pardoned. Finding her French ministers, and the principal measures which they proposed, to be insufferably odious to the nation; the Queen-regent prudently procured them to resign their offices, yet still retained them about her person, and secretly listened to their counsels. With wonderful vigilance, dexterity, and prudence, she still applied herself to divide those parties which began to combine against her government, to conciliate popularity by manners artfully gentle and insinuating, to brand with
 discrediting

* Lindsay, p. 310.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 567.: Ledy, p. 492.—494.

discrediting ignominy the vices, and to gain by artifices upon the weaknesses—of those who were the most earnestly disposed to make opposition to her views. Few persons but a woman of Mary's accomplishments and address, would have been able to carry into effect, that train of difficult measures, which she had it in charge to execute for the French Court, and for the interests of her own family, among the fierce, turbulent, and discordant Scots. To the votaries of the reformation, while these became every day more numerous, and more openly ardent in the cause they had espoused, she continued to afford her protection; and even permitted them to conceive hopes that she herself might perhaps at length become their convert. Arran, and his brother Archbishop Hamilton, now attempted indeed to set themselves in opposition to her government, and watched with a suspicious vigilance, to prevent the rights of the family of Arran from being injured by the circumstances attending the marriage of their young Queen with the heir of the Crown of France. But, the Queen-regent's popularity was not to be materially impaired, nor her authority shaken by the feeble and mean character of Arran himself, nor even by the more powerful talents and influence of his brother the Archbishop. If she were now less popular than before she had obtained the regency, this appeared to have happened, chiefly because

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SECT. I. because the part she had to act was peculiarly difficult,—because they who have obtained power

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and grandeur, never retain all the popular favour with which they were regarded when they were only candidates for these,—because the progress of events was awakening a spirit among the people with which she could not continue to comply, and which was to be far too powerful for any policy, however skilful, to extinguish or restrain it*.

New policy of the French in respect to Scotland.

SUCH was the address with which Mary conducted herself in the management of parties, and in carrying into effect the great plans of policy which had been concerted with her foreign friends, for the government of Scotland.—In the administration of justice, in maintaining with due propriety the splendour and dignity of her Court, and in her intercourse, whether hostile or friendly with the English, she appears to have acted for the most part with equal prudence. But, the French Court believed themselves to be now so much masters of Scotland, that the artifices of moderation, forbearance, compliance, were little necessary: And Mary was to be their agent in executing those bolder and more vigorous measures which they had resolved to adopt. The ends of all these measures were, to thrust out the house of

* Buchanan, lib. xvi : Lellæi, lib. x. p. 483. &c.

of Hamilton from all their rights to the contin-
gent inheritance of the Crown, to destroy the
very elements of reformation in religion, to re-
duce the turbulent nobility of Scotland to a state
of servile subjection to the despotism of France,
to make use of the Scots for invading England,
and for annoying the English with warfare
whenever this might be useful to the interests,
not of the Scots themselves, but of their foreign
Sovereign and of the French.

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MARY, the sister of Edward who had been cut off in early youth, the daughter of Henry the Eighth, by Catharine of Arragon whom he had divorced; now sat on the English throne. She had undone that reformation which had been capriciously begun by her father, and nearly perfected during the short reign of her brother. The Roman Catholic religion was, by her zeal, once more triumphant in England. It was natural for her to cultivate the amity of the illustrious representatives of that house from which her injured mother was descended. She sought the alliance of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, her cousin, accepted in marriage the hand of his son and heir, Philip the Second, and endeavoured, as much as possible, to make the English nation espouse all the friendships and enmities of the husband whom she fondly loved. With reluctance and refractorily,

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Fruitless
attempts
to engage
the Scots
in an of-
fensive
war a-
gainst the
English.

they yielded to her wishes, and renewed the war with France, because the war was renewed between France and Spain. To deprive Philip of the aid of those auxiliaries which England might supply to augment his armies on the continent, the French Court now directed the Queen-regent of Scotland, and those French counsellors whom they kept about her, to engage the Scots to renew at this juncture their ancient hostilities against England. Infractions of various sorts had already violated the former peace between the Scots and the English, yet had not brought on any general warfare. The will of France cut off the hopes of reconciliation. D'Oysel, and Mary who listened with implicit respect to his counsels, endeavoured at first to engage the Scottish Parliament, by open and formal motion and persuasion, to declare war against the English, in revenge for incursions which were alledged to have been made on the Scottish borders, and in concert with the military operations of France on the continent. But, the Scottish nobles would not now depart from that policy which they had observed ever since the fatal defeat at Flowden; and which the more recent event of the battle of Pinkie, had, with renewed force, impressed upon their minds. They were ready to defend their own confines against English invasion: they firmly refused to invade the

the English territories. Disappointed in this measure, yet obliged to make a diversion with the Scottish arms in favour of France; the Queen-mother and her French Council had next recourse to stratagem, for the purpose of unavoidably engaging the Scots in that warfare from which they shewed themselves to be so exceedingly averse. Fortifying Eyemouth for the protection of the eastern borders, they placed in it a garrison, consisting chiefly of foreign mercenary troops, and plentifully furnished with all the requisite arms, artillery, ammunition, and other military stores. Between this garrison and the English in the town and castle of Berwick, frequent rencounters, of course, took place. The French, obedient to the orders they had received, industriously exerted themselves to make the Scots and the English mutually inflict unpardonable injuries. At last, it had been almost resolved to pass the Tweed, and besiege Werk-castle. D'Oysel, without awaiting the determination of the Scottish nobles, upon a point in regard to which, above all others, he had found them to be jealous and difficult; conveyed his artillery to the vicinity of the English castle; and was about to commence the siege, ere the Scots were aware of this unwished-for forwardness in his operations. At this moment, the Queen-regent and her French minister might flatter themselves, that it would

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no longer be possible for the Scottish nobility to avoid engaging even in offensive war against England. Their hopes, their machinations, were, however, quickly frustrated. The Scottish nobles, with great indignation, reprobated the conduct of D'Oysel, refused to second him in the projected siege, and forced him, in shame and anger, to bring back his artillery, without having once discharged it against Werk-castle. A series of petty mutual hostilities between the Scots and the English on the borders, followed. But, there was no battle fought, of great name, or of important consequences. On the next year, indeed, an English fleet passing into the Northern Seas, ravaged the Orkney isles, and burnt the town of Kirkwall; yet was at last obliged to return homewards, without accomplishing any thing of permanent effect, but not without suffering severely by storms, in a scene of navigation uncommonly perilous, and to the English little known. Of these transactions, some part were previous to the actual accomplishment of the marriage between the young Queen of the Scots, and the Dauphin of France. But, for as much as they originated with the French, and the French party in Scotland; they all made a part of that new system of policy, which the French were induced to adopt in regard to Scotland; from considering it as being reduced fully within

within their power, by means of that train of measures which were in this marriage finally consummated *.

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BUT, this marriage, by which the Scots saw the French exalted, in some sort, from their allies to be their lords ; these measures of irritation, by which the partizans of France endeavoured to urge the Scots into an offensive war, from which their prudence or their fears made them averse ; instead of giving fulfilment to the hopes and the views of the Guises ; were destined to favour the accomplishment of the reformation of religion in Scotland, and at length to effect that union of the Scots with the English, which the most sagacious and artful human policy intended them to prevent. Hamilton, Huntley, and most of the other eminent Scottish nobility, were now excited to watch with a jealousy and vigilance, ever ready to break out into opposition, all the measures of the Queen-regent's administration, and all the movements of the devoted partizans of France. All those who were patriotically or selfishly zealous for their own liberties and for those of their country, although not otherwise disposed to encourage religious innovation, yet were induced to make advances to the party of the reformers, in order to obtain their aid against the threatened usurpations.

* Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 564—568. : Lesly, lib. x. p. 490. 491. &c.

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tions. The seasonable death of Mary Queen of England, extinguished those fires of persecution which her blind zeal had kindled, and by exalting her sister Elizabeth to her throne, again overthrew the reign of Popery. While Protestant Episcopacy was thus completely restored in England; the Scottish reformers were, by this event, no less than by the general odium which their fellow-countrymen had conceived against France, emboldened—to throw off the disguise; openly to honour, and listen to—their preachers; and artfully combining the cause of liberty with that of religion, to conceive the firm purpose of rejecting the yoke of Popery, and of restraining the usurpations of France. The fate of the reformation in England, encouraged them to hope, that it might yet, in spite of all opposition, prove equally successful in Scotland. England would henceforth afford a ready place of refuge to those whose safety might in Scotland be threatened by persecution. By the late ambiguous conduct of the Queen-regent, the Catholic party in Scotland were divided among themselves; the Archbishop of St Andrew's stedfastly adhering to the interests of the Papal Church, and sometimes, although with less zeal than Beaton, raising the arm of persecution; while Mary's conduct had been at times so little unfriendly to the reformation, that it was thought not impossible to win her to become

come its convert. At the invitation of some of the Scottish nobles, John Knox, eminent for his zeal, his knowledge, and his popular eloquence, ever since the æra of Beaton's murder; returned secretly into his native country, out of that exile in which he had for a while remained abroad; and renewed his preachings with the most pleasing success. Confessions of the reformed faith were made and avowed by some of the most eminent among the nobles. An application to gain the Queen-regent to the open support of the reformation was unsuccessful, yet did not discourage its disciples. With patriotism, and zeal for religious truth, the hopes of avarice to be gratified by the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, and the views of ambition studious to raise itself on the ladder of religion to supreme power in the state, soon arose to combine themselves. The Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, James Stuart Prior of St Andrew's and natural son to the late King, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, Erskine of Dun, with other men of rank, wealth, and influence, openly avowed themselves the votaries and protectors of the reformation. The cruelties of Archbishop Hamilton were execrated; his artifices were slighted and disconcerted. Political interests were forgotten amidst the care for religion. Religious zeal seemed for a time to absorb every other passion. The nation was now divided into the

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SECT. I. the two parties of the friends to the reformation,
 CHAP. VI. and the stedfast professors of the ancient national
 A. D. faith *.

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The
 French
 Court
 claim to
 Mary
 Stuart the
 succession
 to the
 English
 Throne.

IN the mean time, the death of Queen Mary of England without offspring, the accession of Elizabeth the daughter of a marriage contracted in defiance of the Papal authority, and the re-establishment of the Protestant religion in England, led the French Court to conceive loftier hopes than they had at first enteratined, of the advantages to be derived to their Crown, and to their political greatness in Europe, from the marriage between the young Scottish Queen and the Dauphin. By all the faithful votaries of the church of Rome, whether in England, in Scotland, or on the continent, Elizabeth was accounted a bastard, having no just right to inherit from Henry her father. The inheritance of his kingdom was, upon this principle, to devolve upon the next lawful heir to Henry the Eighth, the grand-daughter of his sister Margaret, young Mary Stuart, now Dauphiness of France. This was not merely a vulgar claim, a pretence to be only talked of, a topic solely of alarm and galling reproach to the English Queen. No: the Papists in England were as yet a very numerous body: Rome and all its emissaries were still indefatigably busy to re-

store the ancient religion in England : From the example of so many revolutions in the English government, from the facility with which the nation had returned to the religion of Mary Tudor as soon as they saw her seated on the throne, from the earnestness with which they had preferred her just rights to the interests of their new religion ; it was still naturally to be expected, even with strong confidence ; that Elizabeth would not long be permitted to enjoy the sovereignty of England. Not with idle vanity, therefore, but to avow and proclaim a right, which, thus proclaimed, would almost give effect to itself ; the counsellors of the French Monarch persuaded him to direct his son and daughter-in-law to assume the title of King and Queen, as well of the English dominions, as of Scotland. Elizabeth and her ministers saw the danger arise. They knew that the wishes of her subjects must now be necessarily divided against her. A thousand storms would be conjured up on every side. Here was a source of enmity between France and England, between Scotland and England, deeper and more inexhaustible than almost any from which former hostilities had sprung. Its existence depended upon Elizabeth's peculiar and personal condition. It reduced her to the necessity of contending, not for glory, but in some measure for life itself ; not for the extension of empire, but for the very right to reign. It iden-

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united all Elizabeth's dearest personal interests with the interests of the Protestant religion. Nor were the French Court to be reasonably blamed for the measures they now took in opposition to this Queen. They believed Mary Stuart's rights to be just : They believed the interests of true religion to be at stake : They saw both the one and the other to be fortunately connected with the aggrandizement of the French monarchy, and with the exaltation of the house of Guise. This opposition between the pretensions of Mary Stuart, and Elizabeth Tudor, was destined to have a remarkable influence on the whole progress of religious and civil affairs in Britain, during the future lives of these two rivals. It was to place Mary at the head of the Papal, Elizabeth at the head of the Protestant interests. It was to exert a mighty influence on the progress of the reformation of religion in Scotland, and on the struggles of the Scots to maintain their liberties unsubjugated by either England or France*.

AMIDST this progress of the affairs of Scotland, and of the neighbouring kingdoms the most naturally connected with it ; the Queen-mother found herself surrounded with difficulties, which were in their nature singularly perplexing. She had treated the reformers with a lenity that made her

* Camdeni Annales : Henault Abregé Chron. &c.

her suspected by Archbishop Hamilton. But it was now necessary equally—for her to adopt Hamilton's views in regard to the support of the established religion; and for Hamilton, since he could not materially promote his brother's interests by thwarting her, not to sacrifice the interests of the Church, in spite to France, and to the Queen-regent. In this temper of mind, in regard to religion, it was resolved instantly to resist the innovations of the reformation, again to let loose upon its votaries, the blood-hounds of persecution, and if even civil war should be necessary to subdue them, not to refuse drawing the sword of war in a contest at once so politic and so pious*.

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THE most zealous and eminent among the preachers of the reformation were selected to be the first victims of that rigour of persecution which Mary had been persuaded to adopt. Having attempted to correct some abuses which were the most flagrant in the morals of the clergy and the customs of the Church; the ecclesiastical leaders seem to have persuaded themselves, that they had by this acquired a right to persecute the new heresy without scruple. Mistrustful of the Scottish clergy, and of the firmness of the Queen-regent; the Guises sent from France some distinguished ecclesiastics,

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* Lesly, lib. x. p. 504.: Melville, p. 48.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 573.

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siastics, for the purpose of confounding the preachers of the reformation in dispute, and of insisting that they should be committed without mercy to the flames. The bold remonstrances, and even the more humble petitions of the reformers, were now treated by the Queen with neglect and scorn. In France, too, a similar system of persecution was resolved upon : and young Arran, the commander of the Scottish guards, a convert to Protestantism, or at least a favourer of it, was about to be dragged forth, as the first illustrious victim. Aware, ere it was too late, of his danger, he made his escape from France, while the blow was meditated : And the Guises and the French King were thus disappointed of a stroke, by which they might have at once exhibited a signal example of zeal for religion, and might have cut off the heir of a man, likely, perhaps, to rival the posterity of Francis and Mary as a candidate for the Scottish throne. Upon young Arran's return into Scotland, his father, seeing that he might no longer securely trust the safety of his family to any pretended kindness of the French ; perceiving the reformers increase to a body, which it might be advantageous and honourable for him to head ; and no longer influenced by those counsels which had before attached him to the cause of Popery ; once more declared for the reformers, listened to their

their preachers, and augmented by his name the credit of their party *.

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In the mean time the reformers, associating themselves by new and closer ties, into a body which received the name of the CONGREGATION, increased continually in numbers, and were rapidly inflamed with a more intense ardour of zeal. Mary, by the advice of her ghostly counsellors, attempted rather to circumvent them by artifice and deceit, than to attack them by open violence. Some instances of promises violated on her part, inflamed the party of the reformers beyond the tameness of longer submission and forbearance.

In the month of April, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, they, for the first time, assembled together at Perth, in arms; and resolved to protect themselves against the laws and the authority of the government, in the exercise of that religious worship which was founded upon their new belief. Knox, newly arrived from Geneva, where he had studied at the feet of Calvin, and had preached as his fellow-labourer, was among the foremost to shew himself at this meeting. In him were united the unpolished fierceness of character which still marked the present unrefined state of Scottish manners, that firm ardour which is kindled in the human mind by the recent perception

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the Congregation
at Perth.

*He was a man of great
fervent passion
He had been for
Calvin the high
regeneration of
his soul*

* Eosdem quos supra.

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ception of important truths not yet generally known or received, and that exalted enthusiasm superior to fear or mean interests, which the concerns of eternity have, above all others, power to inspire. He addressed the CONGREGATION from the pulpit with a force of eloquence which irresistibly fired the souls of all his hearers. His harangue did not dwell upon the exposition of abstract truths; nor was it tricked out with florid ornaments. He spoke of the religious rights of even the meanest among the people, of the voice of the holy scriptures as alone deserving to be heard with implicit faith and reverence, of the false pretences and imposture of the Romish clergy, of the wealth which they undeservedly engrossed, of the bloated luxury in which they wallowed, of the odious crimes with which their hands were continually polluted. He spoke in the bitter language of contempt, of abhorrence, of malignantly grinning ridicule. He then told his hearers of the prize to be acquired by those toils, those sufferings, that daring by which alone the votaries of the reformation could hope to hold fast the faith of which they had made profession, and to win others to follow their illustrious example. The effect of his address moved their minds, even as some mighty force might suddenly impel any piece of matter with a shock tremendous and irresistible. A priest having soon after dared to shew himself in the same pulpit

pulpit from which Knox had thus harangued his willing disciples; was beheld by the surrounding populace with fierce indignation, as if he, not Knox, had been the intruder. Ruthven the provost of Perth, with a great number of the burghesses, were already converts to the doctrines of the reformation. The strangers now assembled with Knox in the town, had come chiefly from the neighbouring counties of Angus and Kincardine, and were very numerous. No attempts, therefore, were made to restrain the licence of the mob. The clergy of the different religious houses belonging to the town and its vicinity, either kept fearfully at a distance from the scene, or found themselves too weak to enforce due reverence for the most sacred solemnities of their religion. While the priest was proceeding in the celebration of these solemnities; a boy standing near, interrupted him with insolent language. He struck the youth, in zealous indignation, with his hand. The mob, awaiting no other signal, instantly took up stones to throw at the priest, drove him in extreme danger from the service, destroyed the shrines and images of saints, reliques, vestments, and all the consecrated ornaments of the Church. Nor was the mischief stayed here. The convents were the next objects of their fury. That of the *Carthusian* monks was exceedingly rich, and

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*Home does not
recollect the name.*

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and the Prior had called in to its defence, a number of the tenants on the lands which the convent possessed in Athole. But the impetuous onset of this reformation-mob bore down all opposition. The gates were broken down; images, reliques, and all the implements of superstition were furiously destroyed. The granaries, cellars, and store-rooms, were then laid open; and the rabble were permitted to load themselves with the spoils of this rich monastic house. The persons of rank and piety, by whom, whether of design or accidentally, this commotion had been excited, did not indeed share this plunder. But, under the pretence of bestowing it for the use of the poor, they suffered all the indigent and the worthless to carry it off; and thus presented to such persons, a powerful allurements to invite them to crowd from all quarters to the banners of the reformation. The same devastation was extended to the monastery of the Black Friars, and to the monastic establishment at Tullilum. Its effect seems to have been favourable to the cause of the reformation, by its impression upon the minds of the fordid, the profligate, and the needy. If cathedrals were to be demolished, if convents were to be rifled, if the lands of the Church were to be hereafter alienated to its destroyers; ah! who would not instantly stand forth in the cause of a reformation which would have

have so much to bestow for the gratification of its votaries *.

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Of this assembly of the disciples of the reformation, and of the daring acts of sedition, to which zeal and licentiousness had suddenly hurried them; the Queen-regent was quickly informed at Stirling, where she then held her Court. Moved at once by zeal for her own worship, of which all the rites and holy things had been sacrilegiously violated; and by just indignation against the authors of a breach of the public peace, so flagrantly contemptuous; Mary instantly determined to reduce the rebels to submission, and to chastise their offence by force of arms. Even Hamilton, now commonly distinguished by the French title of Duke of Chatelherault, James Stuart the Prior of St Andrew's, and some other eminent nobles who were known to favour the reformation, could not refuse to support, in this instance, the authority of the Queen and of the laws, against their friends of the Congregation. Although Mary, obeying a false and immoral policy, had threatened to call the preachers of the reformers to trial, in disregard of a promise of absolute impunity which she had before given them; yet the redress of this grievance was not to be legally

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fought

* Lindfay, p. 316.: Knox, p. 127. 128.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 574.: Lessæi, lib. x. p. 506.

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fought by the profanation of churches, or by the pillaging and the demolition of monasteries. Aided, then, by all those of the Scottish nobles who were still attached to the ancient religion, or who venerated the laws more than the progress of the reformation; and having at her command a body of French forces under M. D'Oysel; she quickly mustered a considerable force, and without delay, advanced from Stirling as far as Auchterarder, on the way to Perth *.

BUT, in the mean time, the reformers, aware of their danger, neglected no means of which they could avail themselves, to prepare for their defence. The Earl of Glencairn, at their summons, hastened from the west to their aid, with a company of at least eight hundred men. Out of Strathern, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, came also considerable numbers, ready to fight for the cause of God and of their brethren. Although unavoidably hurried by the circumstances in which they were to profess and propagate their reformed religion, into some acts of outrage and sedition; yet they were, in the whole, actuated by the love of piety, virtue, and truth: and the sublimity of their principles and motives, gave double firmness to their resolutions, and double energy to their exertions. While the Queen's army at Auchterarder, awaited

* Eodem ut supra: Lefly, p. 317.

awaited the arrival of the requisite artillery from Edinburgh and Stirling; the CONGREGATION had already mustered an irregular force of about five thousand men, imperfectly armed, but inflamed with the most ardent courage. Of these, two thousand were disposed to defend the walls of the town; probably because they could not be suitably arrayed to march out to battle. The other three thousand followed the Earl of Glencairn to the *South Inch*, there to bid defiance to the *idolaters* and *foreign mercenaries*, who advanced against them at the Queen's command. In their resolute determination to conquer or perish, in what they deemed the cause of God; they are said to have bound each a cord about his neck, when they prepared to fall forth. With those cords it was their desperate wish to be strangled,—by the hands of their fellows, if they should turn their backs in the expected combat,—by their enemies, if they should basely suffer themselves to be made prisoners. Seeing the votaries of the reformation, thus strong in numbers, and firm in their resolution, the Queen-regent and her counsellors were induced to assume a tone of less haughtiness and irritation, than they had hitherto discovered in some mutual negotiations towards concession and reconciliation, which had been, almost since the first moments of indignation and offence, carried

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on between the Court and the Congregation in Perth. The cooler-minded among the leaders in the reformation, were, as yet, reluctant to push the contest into actual rebellion and civil war. Around the Queen, were some nobles secretly friendly to the Congregation; as being hopeful, if it should not be suddenly dispersed and annihilated, yet to exalt themselves to become its leaders. An agreement was therefore at length effected. The Queen-regent could not, indeed, without feeling all the bitterness of grief and rage, consent to suffer the sanctity of religion, and the majesty of the throne, to be dishonoured by the pardon which was demanded, to what she accounted sacrilegious rebellion: The Congregation could scarcely trust that plighted faith which she had before, without scruple, violated. But, both were forced to submit to the expediency of the moment. It was agreed, that the gates of Perth should be submissively opened to the Queen; but that no Frenchman should attend her into the town; that none of the townsmen should be molested or brought to trial for what had passed; that Mary should not tarry more than three or four days, to alarm their fears, or disturb their ordinary pursuits by her presence. The preachers, even while they exhorted the people to acquiesce in this compromise, scrupled not to hint their

their suspicions, that it would be soon violated by the Queen *.

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MARY, whether actuated solely by her own zeal and indignation, or yielding to the suggestions of the priests and the Frenchmen who surrounded her; no sooner saw the forces of the Congregation dispersed, than she began to discover herself willing to slight all the conditions of the late treaty. Her French guards attended her entrance into Perth. By a wanton discharge of their musquets, when they came within the town, a youth was slain: And when his parents brought their complaint to the Queen, she mocked their sorrow with inhumane contempt. Ruthven, in violation of the liberties of the burgh, was, by her authority, displaced from the office of its provost; and Charteris of Kinfauns, whom the townsmen hated, was appointed in his stead. The Protestant magistrates, and all the known disciples of the reformation, were driven into banishment. Such a garrison was placed to remain in the town, as might be sufficient to command due respect to the royal authority, and to the Catholic worship †.

WHILE marking the progress of these events, we should

* Lindsay, 318. 319.

† Knox, p. 139.: Lindsay, 318.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 576. Lessly, lib. x. p. 506.

SECT. I. I should greatly err in adopting those partialities of
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either the Protestants or the friends to the ancient Catholic religion, which historians have hitherto universally suffered to influence and bias their judgements, still in favour of the one party or of the other, but chiefly in favour of the reformers. Ardently embracing religious truths, which they conceived to be of the last importance; and striving, with honest benevolence, to procure to these truths a general reception; the reformers, in this, did greatly well. Nor are they to be blamed for exerting every effort that the laws of their country, and the apparent interests of peace and order, would permit them to make, for the purpose of procuring the public establishment of that form of religious worship, which they conceived to be alone acceptable in the sight of God.—Again, the Popish clergy and the Queen-regent, cannot be justly condemned, for not yielding to a sudden conversion to the acceptance of the reformed belief; since we know, that a thousand things, beside the direct and conscious resolution or refusal of the mind, to listen to new propositions with candour, ever unavoidably concur in regulating the stream of human faith and opinion. If unconvinced of the truth of those doctrines which the reformers taught, or of the superior excellence of those forms of worship which they strove to introduce: the Romish clergy would have been base traitors to the cause
of

of religion ; the Queen-regent would have infamously deserted that guardianship of the laws and the constitution which was committed to her : had *they* failed to make a vigorous opposition to the rising heresy ; had *she* suffered the national Church to be overthrown, without once raising the arm of the executive power of the state to interpose and to save it.—Thus far, both the reformers and the adversaries of the reformation might, without a crime on either side, maintain each those forms of religion to which they were respectively attached.—But, when the reformers began to aim plainly at the immediate temporal overthrow of the established Church ; when they substituted artifice, calumny, and malignant invective, instead of humble, inoffensive piety, and the meek expression of those truths of which they were so ardently persuaded ; when they ventured to assemble in arms for the celebration of religious worship, in a form unauthorized by the laws ; when they proceeded to maltreat priests, to ungarnish churches, to spoil and demolish convents ; then, it must be confessed that then their reforming zeal hurried them into flagrant civil crimes.—On the other hand, when the Romish clergy, and even the Queen-regent, seemed, as it were, to dance like so many dæmons, with malignant joy, round the furnace of persecution ; when they urged persecution beyond the point

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at

SECT. I. at which alone it could seem likely to overawe and
 CHAP. VI. restrain, not to exasperate and make desperately

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bold ; when they had also weakly recourse to artifices, and to violations of plighted faith, in order to suppress the reformation, and to punish its agents : in all these instances, *they*, too, held a tenor of conduct, which we must almost unconditionally condemn.—Thus does the guilt of those crimes, with which the progress of this great revolution was attended, appear to have been shared between the two contending parties. If the one party were in general actuated by the strong impulse of new truth, transporting the soul, as it were, out of itself : the other party, contended for established order, and had all those amiable prejudices to influence their determinations, which teach us to revere the wisdom of our forefathers, fondly to cherish their institutions, and to imitate their manners. It were rash to affirm, that, in the present instance, the Queen-regent's violation of her faith, was more criminal than the seditious insurrection by which the reformers had previously violated the laws, slighted her authority, and sacrilegiously insulted her religion. When any great tumult of the human passions is excited ; *right* and *virtue* never range themselves on the one side ; *usurpation* and *criminality* on the other. The merit and the guilt are ever shared with tolerable equality, between those upon both sides. The progress of
 reason

reason goes on. But, men become guilty, and suffer,—both in rashly promoting and in opposing it. SECT. I.
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It must ever be so in the course of human affairs, A. D.
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till men shall universally learn to propagate truth, of whatever nature, solely by communicating it, without any address to the passions, and without any use of external force, to impress it against inward conviction. Almost all the public measures which either the Presbyterian or the Catholic party had, at this juncture, recourse to, were adopted in the persuasion of their perfect rectitude. It was in the private vices of the partizans, in the general blindness and weakness of human nature, in the errors and prejudices peculiar to the age, that whatever was criminal in the prosecution of this contest, appears to have had its origin.

No sooner did the preachers of the reformation, and the nobles who had assumed the character of its leaders and protectors, see Mary violate the late treaty, by introducing French troops into Perth; Transactions to
the violation of the
treaty of
Perth.

than they instantly determined to assemble a new force for their general safety. Argyle, and Stuart the Prior of St Andrew's, enraged because the conditions stipulated by them, were not fulfilled, left the Queen's presence, and, without delay, repaired to join the Congregation. If they could not enforce the observance of a treaty which they

SECT. I. had been persuaded to negotiate ; they might at
 CHAP. VI. least lend their aid to punish those by whom it

A. D. was slighted. Leaving the Queen, these nobles
 1542 to sent messengers into Angus, inviting Erskine of
 1580. Dun, and the other converts of the reformation in that district, to join them in all speed at St Andrew's. Knox, in the mean time, yet more zealous and indefatigable than all the rest, passed through Lower Strathern and Fife, to the eastern coast of this last county. Wherever he shewed himself, the flame of the reformation was kindled, and was spread abroad with inexpressible rapidity and force. At Crail, at Anstruther, he preached with his wonted fervour; and the churches were, by a furious mob, despoiled of all their Papistical furniture; the images were destroyed, and the altars overthrown. From Anstruther, he proceeded to St Andrew's; fearless of whatever opposition the Archbishop might there be expected to make against his reforming efforts. The Archbishop alarmed by the assembling of that part of the Congregation, which had already convened in his Archiepiscopal city, by the news of the approach of so many more, by the tumult with which they advanced; soon left the city, and retired to join the Queen. In this metropolis of that idolatry which he contended to overthrow, Knox preached with
 more

more than his wonted fervour. The usual effects ensued. The churches were despoiled of their Papal ornaments: The monasteries were levelled with the ground. From Mearns, from Angus, from Strathern, from all Fife, a powerful force had again assembled in arms, to defend the cause of the reformation. The Queen-regent, aware of their intentions, and of their movements, quickly advanced from Stirling, to which she had returned, and came as far as Falkland, with her French troops led by D'Oysel, and with a Scottish force under the Duke of Chattelherault, who still wavered between the two parties. Already stronger in numbers than they themselves could have hoped, or than the Queen and her counsellors could suppose; the CONGREGATION marched forward to Cupar. At Cupar, new reinforcements joined them. Aware of their approach, and that it was designed to anticipate an expected march of the royal forces; the Queen, with her followers, advanced as far as Tarbat-hill, to meet them. It was now morning, and still new troops of horsemen and of footmen continued to come in to the aid of the CONGREGATION. They marched out, and stationed themselves advantageously on Cuparmuir, in a situation where their artillery could be readily levelled against their opponents advancing to attack them, without their troops being for

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this the more exposed to a disadvantageous fight, if the enemy should come up to engage them in closer combat, hand to hand. So numerous were now the forces of the Congregation, so well appointed, so highly animated by native courage doubly inflamed by religious zeal ; that the event of a battle with them was not at this time likely to be easy and certain victory to the forces of the Queen. But, the morning was dark and hazy ; the low overhanging mists for a while concealed a great part of their force ; the Queen and her officers were not sufficiently aware of the strength and numbers of those whom they were preparing to attack. About mid-day, the mists began to be dispersed ; and then the wide battle-array of the Congregation was clearly visible from a distance. Argyle, the Prior of St Andrew's, Ruthven the displaced provost of Perth, Haliburton the provost of Dundee, and Learmonth provost of St Andrew's, were among their leaders. The Queen had not full, undoubting confidence in the fidelity and loyal ardour even of those nobles and their followers, by whom she was herself attended. Against an handful, they would perhaps have fought with manful and contemptuous valour. But, disliking their French associates, and being not without secret correspondences with the Congregation

gregation; was it not to be dreaded, that, when they saw these so powerful, some of them might be induced to revolt, and change sides, as soon as the battle should be joined? In these circumstances, what could Mary do? She thought instantly of another temporary accommodation with the rebels. A messenger was sent with conciliatory, but general and unsatisfactory propositions. He was dismissed with an answer alike dissatisfactory. This high language from the Congregation, and the fearless conduct which they shewed, could not but increase the alarm of Mary and her counsellors. Other messengers of higher rank, and with fuller powers, were again dispatched from the royal army. To them the leaders of the Congregation at last declared, that they were willing to lay down their arms, and retire, if they might but obtain satisfactory assurance of impunity for what was past, of security in future, of liberty to worship God agreeably to their consciences, above all, if the Queen would agree immediately to withdraw her troops beyond the Forth. Knowing that the presence of the French troops in the kingdom, was the principal grievance, in complaining of which, both Catholics and Protestants were likely to concur; they insisted upon this with the loudest earnestness. From these conditions it was vain
to

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to hope to make them recede: yet, by yielding these, the Queen-regent would give up that for which she had drawn her forces first to Perth, and now again to Falkland. But no choice of alternatives remained to her. A deed, such as the Congregation required, was prepared and signed. The French forces were without delay withdrawn. The troops of the Congregation immediately dispersed themselves. Mutual slaughter was thus prevented; partly by the mutual fears of both parties, for each other's strength; partly by their reverence for each other's rights and good intentions *.

But, Perth was as yet in the hands of that garrison which Mary had recently placed in it. They protected the Catholic religion; overawed and oppressed the friends of the reformation. The Lords of the Congregation had expected, that, in consequence of the treaty, this garrison of Frenchmen should also retire beyond the Forth, and leave Perth open to its former magistrates and inhabitants. But, this article was not distinctly expressed in the recent treaty: And Mary did not think herself obliged, now to fulfil the violated conditions of that of Perth. Besides, making a distinction between *Frenchmen* and

* KNOX, 140.—143.: LINDFAY, 318.—322.:

Scots in the French service, which the leaders of the Congregation were unwilling to acknowledge; she thus also contrived rather to elude, than directly violate some of the terms of these treaties. A letter from Argyle and Stuart Prior of St Andrew's, was sent soon after the French forces had left Fife, to demand the evacuation of the town of Perth. Without awaiting her answer, these Lords began again to muster a force, in order to compel, by siege and assault, what, they could not suppose, would be voluntarily conceded by the Queen-regent or her servants. Summoned by the besieging Congregation to surrender and depart from the town; the garrison, and Charteris the provost, declared their determination to hold it for the Queen against all assailants. Having received this answer, the reformers no longer delayed the commencement of hostilities. Attracted by their zeal and success, new adherents now joined them; the Earl of Monteith, repairing with his vassals from the northern division of the shire of Stirling; and Campbell of Glenurchart, coming from the southern confines of Argyleshire, to take part with the Earl of Argyle; the chieftain of his clan. Huntley, Erskine, and Bannatyne, came with new proposals from the Queen, to avert the danger of the siege. But, their proposals favoured more of artifice than of ingenuous concession; and the Congregation had determined to hearken to no terms which

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SECT. I. which should not offer the immediate withdrawing
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of the garrison—and the leaving to the citizens the free exercise of the reformed religion. The Queen's ambassadors returned in disappointment, without having accomplished the purpose of their coming. The siege was vigorously prosecuted; the garrison, and the Queen's partizans within, made a gallant defence. Yet, unprovided with the means of withstanding, for any long time, an assault, which was now furiously made with artillery, from the eastern and the western sides; they were soon obliged to sue for a capitulation; offering to deliver up the town within an hour, unless relief should, in the mean time, arrive to them from the Queen; on condition that they should then be permitted to march out, with their banners displayed, and with the usual honours of war. The besiegers granted them a capitulation upon these terms. No relief arrived. The garrison departed. The troops of the Congregation entered. Ruthven and the former magistrates were restored to the government of the town*.

Now masters once more of the town of Perth; the Congregation proceeded to exercise their reforming zeal, in the destruction of whatever monuments of Popery had before been spared. SCONE, a rich abbey, of which the Bishop of Moray

* Knox, p. 144, 145. : Lindsay, p. 323.

Moray was the principal ecclesiastic, lying in the near vicinity of Perth, naturally attracted the pillaging spirit of the multitude. That multitude was, after the late successes, to be gratified with new spoils, otherwise their reforming zeal might quickly become languid. While a threatening message was sent from the Lords of the Congregation to the Bishop, requiring him to espouse the cause of the reformation, and menacing ruin to the abbey and all its edifices, if he should dare to refuse; in the mean time, the rabble, and those who, in the extravagance of their zeal, thought it would be hainously criminal to spare such a seat of idolatry as Scoone; hastened to anticipate and disappoint whatever sparing and lenient measures, the Bishop's expected answer might suggest. Aware that, without at least a seeming compliance with the demands of the Congregation, he could not save the abbey, nor perhaps escape in his own person, from their reforming violence; the Bishop readily answered to their message, that he would comply with all their demands. But, the greedy plundering mob already surrounded their monastery; and their preachers and leaders were vainly, perhaps not very sincerely, making some faint efforts to restrain the pillage. The pretence of other affairs quickly called away the leaders. Seeing the Bishop's household, and the ecclesiastics of the monastery, arm themselves for their

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defence, and make some endeavours to fortify their place; the fury of the mob was inflamed, at the sight, to the utmost extravagance. A sword was drawn, on the side of the Bishop's servants, in defence of the granary. A citizen of Dundee was wounded. Without delay, the multitude pillaging whatever they could easily reach, set the rest on fire. The whole buildings of the abbey were soon burnt to the earth. The crowd looked on with savage joy; congratulating one another as the authors of a service highly grateful in the sight of Heaven; and fiercely declaring their own crime to be the judgement of God upon the idolatry, the luxury, the cruelty, and the obscene crimes of the monks *!

Progress
of the
Congrega-
tion from
Perth to E-
dinburgh.

WHILE an unarmed and irregular multitude, chiefly citizens of the towns of Perth and Dundee, were thus employed in spreading devastation over every monument of the Papal religion, which remained in Perth, and its immediate vicinity: Argyle and the Prior of St Andrew's had already departed in the night, with a troop of armed followers, to take possession of Stirling for the Congregation. The ordinary number of troops had been withdrawn out of Stirling-castle, in order to march against the reformers at

* Knox, p. 145. 146.: Lindsay, p. 313.: Leslie, lib. x. p. 508.: Buchanan, &c.

at St Andrew's. Having been conveyed out of Fife, by the passage-boats near to the mouth of the frith of Forth; they had not yet returned to occupy the castle which they had formerly garrisoned. There was among the inhabitants of Stirling, and its neighbourhood, a disposition to favour the cause of the reformation, which, to their weak, rash, inconsiderate judgements, the hand of God might have seemed, in the late events, conspicuously and miraculously to prosper. Aware that Stirling was the key by which the passage from the northern to the southern counties of Scotland might be opened or shut; the Queen-regent was now preparing to secure and fortify it against any attempts of those to whom she had been compelled to relinquish all beyond the Forth. Argyle and the Prior of St Andrew's anticipated and frustrated her design. At Stirling, as in the towns beyond the Forth, they demolished the monasteries, spoiled the churches, and, for as much as was possible, effaced every vestige of Romish superstition. From Stirling, the same company proceeded to Linlithgow; and, in the fury of their holy zeal, committed there the same excesses, and spread the same devastation. Only the leaders, the preachers, and a small number of the better armed and the more opulent among their followers, went steadily on in this career. The multitude fluctuated more loosely about them; ran to join them

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in the first burst of zeal ; then, after a few days stay, having consumed their provisions, and acquired some share of the plunder of the religious houses, again returned home ; soon to hasten once more back to swell the crowd of those who propagated the reformation by violence, and to approve themselves faithful servants in what they deemed the cause of God. Numbers were continually coming to join the Congregation ; and numbers were still retiring homewards from it. Fear of the excesses which the reformers were unavoidably driven to perpetrate ; that sort of sympathetic contagion of passion and opinion, which ever spreads upon any extraordinary occasion among a multitude, with the rapidity and the mysterious communication of an epidemic distemper ; the persuasion that Heaven was on the side of the reformers ; indignant hatred against the mercenary French troops by which Scotland was oppressed ; all operated to crown the efforts of Argyle, Stuart, and the preachers, with the most flattering and the most extraordinary success. Mary, at Edinburgh, hearing of their approach, of the force by which they were attended, of the still kindling spirit with which they were inflamed, of the church-destroying riots which still accompanied their progress ; would not await their coming within the gates of Edinburgh, but fled, in trepidation and haste, to seek her safety in the castle of Dunbar.

The

The citizens of Edinburgh were ripe for a revolt against the Catholic religion. The Lord Seton, the Provost, had for some days, with great difficulty, protected the monasteries from their fury. He fled with the Queen. The convents were instantly sacked and spoiled. The Congregation were received by a great part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh with open arms *.

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MASTERS in that town, which was the ordinary seat of the government, the Congregation now began to conduct their proceedings with greater solemnity. They spoiled and destroyed all the monuments of the Catholic worship, which Edinburgh as yet contained. They seized the mint, in order to support themselves, and to distress the party of the Queen, by detaining, from the use of their opponents, the royal treasures. They at least hindered not the emissaries of England from entering the town, to witness their transactions, if not to negotiate with them for the overthrow of the authority of Francis and Mary. They expelled the Catholic clergy from every pulpit; and celebrated religious worship, with extraordinary ardour and perseverance, according to the ritual of the Presbyterian reformation. In the midst of this triumph, the Queen-regent dared not to make

* Knox, p. 146.: Lindsay, p. 323.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 580.: Lesly, p. 508.

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make any attempts against them otherwise than by issuing a proclamation, in which they were charged as less zealous for religious reformation, than for rebellion. But in the mean while, the friends to the ancient religion, and to the royal authority, rallied round the Queen-regent. The charge of civil rebellion struck aghast many, who had not conceived that they could be guilty of rebellion, while they strove only to explode idolatry, and to establish, instead of it, that form of religion which they believed to be alone founded in sacred truth. A scarcity of provisions began to be felt at Edinburgh, in consequence of the extraordinary resort of people to that city, and their continuance in it for so many days together. The leaders began to fear, that their followers might conceive suspicions of the motives on which they acted: and such suspicions began actually to arise, excited by the charge urged in the late proclamation. Thus disheartened, cooled in their zeal, almost divided from one another, alarmed by the retrospection of what they had dared and achieved, in contempt of the royal authority, the Congregation entered again into negotiation with the Queen. A conference was held at Preston, between a certain number of commissioners, on the part of the Queen; and the Lords of Congregation, for themselves, and those who had espoused the same interests with them. Nothing was, however,

ever, concluded. The Presbyterians demanded, SECT. I.
CHAP. VI. that liberty should be granted, legally, for the open exercise of their forms of worship throughout the kingdom; that the Queen should dismiss to France all her mercenary troops, whether native Frenchmen, or Scots receiving pay from the French King. Mary and her Counsellors answered in ambiguous terms, which shewed them desirous, A. D.
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Negotia-
tions be-
tween the
Queen and
the Con-
gregation. more to amuse and outwit, than to satisfy, the agents of the congregation. While the negotiations were protracted, the members of the Congregation were again, for the greater part, dispersed from Edinburgh to their homes; going to procure new supplies of provisions, to deposit what they had procured from the spoils of the religious houses,—or out of an inconsiderate persuasion, that they had done enough, and that their religion must now necessarily triumph. Informed of this state of the affairs of the Congregation, which was, in a great measure, the effect of her own consummate policy; Mary, with a powerful force, which was now-assembled round her, suddenly advanced from Dunbar towards Edinburgh; and ere Argyle, Stuart, and Knox, could draw out an army to oppose her, had happily possessed herself of Leith. Leith was thus in the hands of an hostile force. The Governor of the castle of Edinburgh was ready to turn its cannon against whoever was disloyal to the Queen-regent. The feeble.

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feeble-minded Hamilton was still with Mary. In these circumstances, the Lords of the Congregation saw themselves compelled to agree to a treaty, of which they might foresee the probable violation, because it left still, in the Queen's hands, the means to violate it. It was stipulated, that the gates of the city of Edinburgh should be again opened to the Queen; that the Presbyterians should implicitly submit themselves to her authority; that the Catholics should be left, without molestation, in the exercise of their religion, and in the possession of their convents and churches: But that, on the other hand, the inhabitants of Edinburgh should be free to chuse between the Presbyterian and the Catholic religion; that no garrison of French or Scottish soldiers should be stationed within the city; that at least equal freedom of professing the reformed religion, should be enjoyed throughout all other parts of the kingdom. By this treaty, no party could be satisfied. It gained to the Queen conditions somewhat less disadvantageous and dishonourable, than those which prevented a battle at Coupar; but was far from re-establishing the due influence of the royal authority, and brought no compensation for the injuries which the Catholics had suffered, or for the sacrilege with which all the holiest monuments of their religion had been violated. It gave to the Presbyterians a necessary amnesty for their

their feditious crimes; and sanctioned with the authority of law, the public profession of their religion: But, they well knew, that whatever the conditions of the treaty, that amnesty, and that freedom of religious worship, would be enjoyed, only so far as the Queen-regent wanted power to withhold them: and of her power, the most dangerous instrument, the mercenary troops, had not yet been wrested from her hands*.

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WHILE these things passed in Scotland, the Court of France were not without doubts concerning the expediency of suppressing the reformation, by those measures of violence which the Queen-regent had been instructed to employ. Even in France, the Calvinistic form of the reformed religion, had been preached with extraordinary success. It had been received, at first, with willing attention, among the clergy and the men of learning. From them, it had been propagated among numbers of the lower people, whose situation subjected them to few of those prejudices of interest which were the most adverse to its reception. It had acquired, at last, sufficient importance to win the protection of the great. Many of the French nobles were, about this time, disposed to look with favour on the religion of Calvin. Even in the Court, its interests were espoused by Montmorency, who rivalled

Melville's
embassy.

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valled

* Knox, p. 146.—155. : Lesly, p. 308. 509. : Lindsay, p. 323.

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valled the Guises in the favour of Henry the Second. Montmorency, willing to protect the reformed religion, and to traverse all the projects of the Guises, dispatched to Scotland, a secret messenger from among his train, who might hearken to the complaints of the Scottish reformers, and might return to France with information, which should enable Montmorency to supplant the Guises with his royal master, by exposing the evils which arose from their mistaken policy in the government of Scotland. This messenger was James Melville, the son of Melville of Raith, a man who had been put to death for a traitorous correspondence with England, into which he had been led by his connections with the reformers. James Melville, associating chiefly, while in Scotland upon this mission, with the reformers, heard all their grievances, gave credit to all their professions of honest and loyal intentions, encouraged them to hope redress and satisfaction from his master's influence in the French councils; and returned to France with abundant materials, such as his Lord might use, to work the ruin of the Guises. But, about the time of his return, Henry perished by an accident in a foolish rencounter; and the influence of Montmorency was no more. Francis the Second, the husband of Mary Stuart, was exalted on his father's throne: And her uncles, the Guises, engrossed

grossed the administration of the royal power, without a rival. The hopes which Melville had excited among his countrymen, were therefore frustrated. The original designs which the Guises had conceived, were now to be pursued, almost from one end of Europe to the other, with greater boldness and vigour than before *.

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THUS without resource, save in their own prudence, zeal, and valour, the reformers could only persevere in the course on which they had entered. That Mary would scrupulously observe the treaty to which she had agreed, was not to be confidently hoped. It was their business, during the first leisure which this treaty gave, to strengthen themselves by new measures of defence, against whatever she should undertake against them. At Stirling, they solemnly renewed their bond of association; and openly resolved to ask from England, in which the reign of Elizabeth had now finally established the reformed religion. Happily, the Duke of Chattelherault, was now at last driven to regard the French Court as irreconcilably determined to accomplish the ruin of his house. Without longer hesitation, he threw himself into the arms of the reform-

New
measures
of the
Congrega-
tion.

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* Melville's Memoirs, p. 53.—56.: Henault, Abregé Chronol.
&c.

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ers. To strengthen themselves in the western districts, Glencairn, Boyd, and Ochiltree, retired from Stirling, for a short time, to Ayrshire; the Prior of St Andrew's, and the Earl of Argyle, to the regions which remained under the jurisdiction and influence of Argyle. The castle of Dunbarton, the principal strong place on the frith of Clyde, fell into their hands. Others remaining at Stirling, and in the middle districts of the kingdom; were in readiness to sound the alarm, and to convoke their brethren from all quarters, whenever the Queen-regent should threaten the safety of any of the Congregation, by the violation of the recent treaty of Edinburgh *.

Supplies
from
France
to the
Queen-
regent.

No sooner had young Francis ascended the French throne, than the Guises dispatched messengers to notify this event to the Queen-regent of Scotland. These messengers were also the bearers of orders, enjoining her to prosecute, with increased vigour and severity, those measures of hostility and violence which she had begun to employ against the reformers. An army of French soldiers, such as might be sufficient easily to suppress the tumultuary insurrections of the votaries of the new doctrines, was promised to follow speedily, under the command of the *Marquis d'Elbauf*. Threatening messages from their Sovereign

* Knox, p. 154.—156. &c.

reign were, by the same ambassadors, communicated to Stuart the Prior of St Andrew's, and to the other leaders of the Congregation. The Queen-regent was encouraged to act with new boldness, haughtiness, and unfaithfulness, towards all the reformers, and all who favoured them. Irritated, as she already was, beyond the wonted gentleness of her nature, by the insurrections raised against her authority, and the profanation of the holiest things of her religion; she did not fail to display openly her full sense of all the advantages which these recent promises and commands from France, evidently gave against her enemies. Of the promised forces, a part, amounting to the number of a thousand soldiers, soon after arrived; bringing, at the same time, a plentiful supply of money, arms, and other military stores. Within no long time, these were reinforced by the arrival of two thousand more, under the command of M. de la Brosse. Pelleve, Bishop of Amiens, and three other ecclesiastics, doctors of the Sorbonne, accompanied these last forces, in order that the arguments of the doctors might co-operate to the overthrow of heresy, with the arms of the warriors, and the thunder of the cannons*.

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In the mean time, the leaders of the Congregation

Conduct
of the
Congregation.

* Knox, p. 156. &c.: Lindsay, p. 324.: Lesly, p. 510.—515.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p.

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gation were not idle. They acted like men superior to slackness or timidity, who saw their dearest interests at stake, and who were roused to the most energetic exertion of all the vigilance and activity of which they were capable, Young Arran's account of the danger which he had with difficulty escaped in France, had added Châtelherault, with *open* co-operation to their party. The shires of Argyle, Renfrew, and Ayr, were almost all in arms, zealous to fight and die for their newly embraced religion, and in defence of the liberties of their country. The zeal of the inhabitants of the north-east counties had been inflamed and exalted, not slackened, by the progress of the reformation. In Edinburgh, the greater number of the citizens, with Willock, the preacher, at their head, were faithful converts to the new doctrines, and gloried in the late spoliation of their convents and churches. Stirling and Perth were in the hands of the reformers. The preachers were emissaries, active and zealous, almost above the powers of humanity: That novelty, and those hopes of spoils, which had at the first allured many converts, still operated with all their former force: The presence of so many Frenchmen, the idea that the French leaders were to be gratified with the confiscated estates of all who favoured the reformation, kindled up for its support, all the na-

tional pride, and all the patriotism, which naturally burned with ardour in the breasts of Scottish men. Frequent proclamations, published against the Congregation by the authority of the Queen-regent, were, by the address of the busiest agents of the reform, represented in a light in which they served to counteract her own purposes. At the head of the Congregation were, the political and military talents of Stuart, Argyle, Glencairn, and Ruthven; the illustrious name of Hamilton; the fearless, enthusiastic, transported zeal of Knox and the other preachers. England was at hand; the hopes of its assistance were ready in the minds of all. To the Queen's proclamations, the reformers made answer with a virulence, and an artful imputation of wicked purposes, which even exceeded what her ministers had taught her to expect. While she expelled the preachers from the churches of Edinburgh, fortified Leith, and endeavoured to call around her all who were still loyal to their King, and faithful to the ancient religion; they, in their turn, assembled at Hamilton; dispatched letters throughout the kingdom, in the Duke's name, calling the friends of their country to protect its liberties against French tyranny; and appointed an early convention to meet at Edinburgh, for the purpose of pursuing those measures of hostility, which the conduct of the

SECT. I.
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1580.

SECT. I. the French Court and the Queen-regent seemed
CHAP. VI. to leave them no longer at liberty to decline*.

A. D.

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1580.

Measures
of hostili-
ty em-
ployed a-
gainst the
Congrega-
tion.

BUT, Mary confided more in that Gallic force which was continually augmented by new supplies, than in the favour of any part of the Scottish nation. Her French troops strongly fortified the sea-port town of Leith, by which they might command means of retreat out of the island, in the case of final ill-success, or might receive from time to time new supplies, to reinforce their strength, and aid their efforts. From Leith they made inroads into the circumjacent country, possessed themselves of several strong holds on the coast of Fife, supported those who were in that region still faithful to the Queen, grievously annoyed the partizans of the reformation, spoiled also the towns of Linlithgow and Stirling, spread terror and devastation far and wide, but yet not without often suffering from Scottish valour, disasters and calamities little less grievous than those which they inflicted. Amidst this force and activity of her foreign troops, the Queen once more purified all the churches of Edinburgh, expelled the preachers, caused those inscriptions to be effaced with which the Reformers had covered the walls of the houses of worship, restored once more, with solemn veneration, those altars which had been over-
thrown

* Knox, p. 156.—179.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 581.—583.: Lindsay, p. 324.: Lefly. lib. x. p. 515.

thrown, and those images which had been broken down. While the party of the Congregation, now uttering more the voice of patriotism, than that of religious zeal, demanded the dismissal of all the French troops, as the price for which they might be persuaded to return to their duty: Mary and her counsellors protested the fairness of their intentions towards the constitutional liberties of the Scottish nation; yet talked of the necessity of foreign aid to suppress rebellion; execrated the treasonable correspondence of the Lords of the Congregation with the English; and half avowed their purpose to subjugate, by a mercenary army, a people whose favour could not be, by gentler means, conciliated to the measures of their government *.

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In the mean time, the Lords of the Congregation were much more successful than the Queen-regent, in their attempts to win the general favour of the nation to their cause. They failed not to assemble in a parliamentary convention at Edinburgh, on the twenty-first day of October, as they had resolved. All mutual overtures towards reconciliation proving vain, they determined to attack the French within their fortifications at Leith. They prepared such means and engines of assault as they could readily procure; and marched out to assail their adversaries; with a too presumptuous confidence

Measures
of the
Congrega-
tion.

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confidence

* Eodem quos supra.

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confidence, that God from on high would give victory to their endeavours; even as he was, in the scriptures, related to have often, against all human probability, crowned with success the arms of the Israelites of old. But, the Queen had spies in the midst of them, by whom she was secretly advertised of all their purposes, and of the poverty of the means which they possessed to accomplish them. The hired soldiers who served among them, could not obtain their pay, and began, therefore, to rise in mutiny. Against the arms, the order, the military skill, the abundance of all necessaries, which constituted the strength of the French troops, how little could be achieved by the undisciplined valour of a mob of enthusiasts? Whatever assaults the reformers made from Edinburgh upon Leith, were, by the French soldiers, successfully repulsed. The French issuing to intercept a convoy of provisions which was expected by their enemies, were opposed, with the same ill success as before, by the forces of the Congregation; routed them again with considerable slaughter; and, by this victory, encouraged a considerable part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, to declare boldly and loudly against a party who were no longer prosperous. Amid these disasters, the loss of a sum of money obtained from England, but of which the Earl of Bothwell robbed their envoy; left the Lords of the Congregation almost without resource. It was in
vain

vain, that they took and spoiled Bothwell's castle of Crichton. The money had been previously conveyed away; Bothwell himself escaped falling into their hands. The spoils of his castle were but a poor compensation for the loss of the booty which he had seized. Mary of Lorraine was, by the authority of the Convention of the reformers, suspended from the Regency of the kingdom. But, the reverses which they now experienced, threatened to make that suspension more hurtful to its authors than to Mary and her administration. Knox, having in vain laboured, with the other leaders of the Congregation, to inflame and maintain the dying zeal of their party; tried a different theme; and represented their defeats and disasters, as the punishment of Heaven, inflicted upon their lukewarmness and other crimes. Maitland of Lethington suddenly deserting the party and the Councils of the Queen; now attached himself to the interests of the Congregation; yet strove in vain to persuade them in their present circumstances, to remain in Edinburgh, or at least to leave such a force in it, as might preserve the city from being again occupied by Mary and her troops. William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the murderers of Beaton, one of the most gallant captains of the age, in vain endeavoured yet to breathe some portion of his own ardour into the despondent partizans of the reformation.

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SECT. I. Even some of their principal leaders seemed to
 CHAP. VI. share the faint-heartedness of the mob. They re-

A. D. tired in confusion and fear out of Edinburgh.
 1542 to One company passed to Glasgow, and another to
 1580. Dysart in Fife. Edinburgh was once more occu-
 pied by the Queen-regent and her attendants.
 The young Earl of Arran was proclaimed a trai-
 tor. Lord Erskine was summoned to deliver the
 castle of Edinburgh into the hands of servants in
 whom Mary could confide. And it seemed, for a
 time, as if the reformation were about to be over-
 thrown, and the liberties of Scotland to be for
 ever destroyed *.

Progress
 of the con-
 test.

BUT, disappointment, misfortune, and the ter-
 ror of greater evils rapidly arising to overwhelm
 them; served only to arouse the Congregation to
 new energy of exertion. What aid they re-
 quested from England was, after some difficul-
 ties obtained; for the interests of Queen Eliza-
 beth now coincided entirely with theirs. Lord
 Erskine refused to surrender the castle of Edin-
 burgh at the Queen's summons. In Fife, although
 some partial successes crowned the efforts of the
 French arms; yet the Congregation were gene-
 rally and finally victorious. A powerful fleet
 from England at length entered the bay of the
 Forth: and several vessels from France coming
 with

* Lindsay, p. 32.: Knox, b. 1. sub fine.

with letters, supplies, and new orders to the Queen-regent, were speedily made the prizes of its force and vigilance. No longer retaining their ancient aversion to the English; but, regarding the English in comparison with the French, as guardian angels compared to dæmons of destruction; the Scottish nobles of the Congregation, sent a deputation to meet an English army, which now approached on land by the way of Berwick, and to conduct them onwards to Edinburgh, to their aid. KNOX, the apostle of this reformation, the soul and presiding spirit of that league in which its disciples were now united; had opened the last effectual intercourse with England; had drawn the nobles of his party to enter into it fully: And he it was who now conducted the general system of the measures which were pursued; so that they might the most fully tend to the final establishment of the reformed religion by law among the Scots. The prospect of powerful aid from England, gave new hopes of final triumph over the French. And these hopes encouraged numbers of the Scottish nobles to flock to the standard of the Congregation; who might otherwise have resisted the call of patriotism, and remained neutral, or might perhaps have at length joined the forces of the Queen *.

SECT. L.
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ELIZABETH

* Lindfay, p. 325.—329.: KNOX, p. 199.—223, &c.

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1580.

ELIZABETH and her ministers had, from the first, perceived all the importance of supporting the reformation, and opposing the measures of France, among the Scots. Accustomed, however, to act, on every occasion, with cautious prudence and circumspection, she had avoided the inconveniencies which might have arisen from espousing too rashly the cause of the Scottish reformers, while they were as yet but a faction or party in the land. They had not been forbidden to hope for powerful aid to be at some future time obtained from Elizabeth. Some small supplies of money had not been refused them. English emissaries had watched the progress of the contest between them and their Queen, as if of purpose to mark the moment when English aid might be most seasonably afforded. But, till the whole nation seemed to be engaged in the cause; till the first Prince of the royal blood had put himself formally at their head; till an act of the Convention had degraded the Queen-regent from her office; till the designs of France to subvert Scotland to the laws of conquest, had been unambiguously evinced: the English Court had still delayed to enter into an open and decisive alliance with the Scots, against their Gallic oppressors. Since that alliance had been openly and finally contracted by the negotiations of Maitland
of

of Lethington, at the English Court ; the activity with which Elizabeth hastened to give it effect, had been such as fully to evince her ardent sincerity in favour of the Scottish reformers. Already were the French shut up by sea ; while the English fleet rode masters of the Scottish coasts from Berwick to Dundee. By land, a powerful English army had now entered the Scottish confines, and was advancing to join the forces of the Congregation, and to co-operate with them against the French. This army consisted of six thousand infantry, and two thousand horse, under the command of the Lord Grey of Wilton. At Preston, they were respectfully received by the Duke of Chattelherault, and the other Scottish nobles who were the leaders in the reformation, with all their followers. The country around Edinburgh had been already laid waste by the French troops. But, the English brought with them ample supplies of necessaries : their fleet on the coast was ready to bring what more might be wanted : and the Congregation themselves eagerly offered whatever the condition of their country could enable them to provide for the entertainment of their allies. After some days of deliberation, it was determined once more to besiege the French forces in Leith. The Scottish and English armies then decamped ; and, with all their baggage and artillery, moved onward

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Arrival of
the Eng-
lish auxi-
liaries.

SECT. I. onward in great harmony and confidence to Ref-
 CHAP. VI. talrig.

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 1550.

WHILE these transactions proceeded, in the intercourse of the Scots with the English; the ministers of the Queen-regent, the ambassadors of France, the French captains and their troops, had bestirred themselves with extraordinary zeal and activity; both to prevent the union of the English with the Scots, and then to prepare for vigorously withstanding their united efforts. At the English Court, Monluc Bishop of Valence, had, by a thousand artifices of negotiation, laboured to make Elizabeth withhold her succours from the Scottish reformers, until a sufficient force should have arrived from France, to resist, and triumph over, the hostilities of both the Scots and the English. The Princes of Lorraine, the ministers of the young French King, struggled; amidst the difficulties of those affairs on the continent, with which they were now embarrassed; to send, without delay, such supplies as might still enable their sister to maintain her authority among the Scots. But a tempest scattered and drove back the fleet that conveyed their last succours. The French forces sallied out from Leith, still in various excursions over the country, to procure for themselves provisions, to destroy whatever might be of use to their enemies, and to cut off those

those enemies by surprise, wherever they wandered in straggling parties, or lay in heedless security. While the Duke of Chattelherault besieged the castle of Sempill, an adherent to the party of the Queen-regent; the French marched suddenly to relieve the besieged; but finding that they had come too late, spoiled the city of Glasgow; and then returned, after having in vain endeavoured to draw Hamilton and his followers to a battle. Stirling was for some time occupied by the French; but finding it unsafe to weaken their force by division, they were at last obliged to abandon it, and to withdraw to Leith, the detachment by which it had been garrisoned. While the hosts of the Scots and English assembling all around, encompassed the French on every quarter, still nearer and nearer, and prepared to shut them up in Leith; the French gradually concentrated their force, increased their fortifications, and employed every means within their power to enable them to withstand a siege or a blockade, till new succours should arrive from France. They might have occupied Edinburgh rather than Leith. But, while the castle was not in their hands, they would have been unsafe in the town: Their numbers were unequal to the defence of a place so extensive as Edinburgh: A sea-port such as Leith was necessary, that they might not be cut off from receiving those new supplies from abroad, which were now anxiously

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expected. However, ere the communication between Leith and Edinburgh was yet cut off by the siege, the Queen-regent, dispirited by the progress of that unhappy train of events in which she had acted an important part, now languishing in her health, and urged by her counsellors to withdraw from the dangers and miseries of the commencing siege; retired into the castle of Edinburgh, and committed the custody of her person to the fidelity of the Lord Erskine, who commanded in that castle, and who, though he refused to surrender it to the French, maintained a strict neutrality, and held it equally out against the leaders of the Congregation *.

Siege of
Leith,

THE Scottish and English armies in the mean while invested the town of Leith, opened their trenches, and formally began the siege. By land, the besieged town was closely encompassed on all quarters. On the side of the sea, the harbour of Leith was equally blocked up by the English force upon Inch-Keith, and by an English fleet of at least thirty ships. On the thirteenth day of April, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty, the besiegers made their first assault with twelve pieces of great artillery and twenty smaller pieces. An unsuccessful sally was, on the second day following, made from the town by the besieged garrison: The skirmish was prolonged for seven hours:

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* Lindsay, p. 326.—328.: Knox, p. 323, &c.: Buchanan, p. 591.

The French soldiers led by Martigi, forced their way into the English trenches, while the Scottish and English warriors, unaware of danger, were unarmed, and were amusing themselves with games of chance. Some troops of the English cavalry advanced to sustain the shock of the assailants, till the infantry should resume their arms. The onset of the French was fierce and powerful, and was urged with the most gallant intrepidity. Not less sustained by innate valour was the resistance of the Scots and English. Enraged by the thought that they had been taken by surprise; they armed themselves, and rushed forward, one after another, into the keenest fury of the fight, with inconceivable haste and impatience. The French were then soon beaten: The English pressing indignantly after, cut them in pieces, on all sides, with a terrible slaughter; and Martigi, and his surviving followers, returned within the town, convinced, that, although the besiegers might indeed be surprised, they were not easily to be defeated. Convinced, in like manner, by the circumstances of this partial engagement, that they had not opened the siege with sufficient precautions; the allies now raised mounds, at equal distances, around the extent of the entrenchments, from which they levelled their artillery; and behind which, it was meant, that their soldiers should rally if they should be again at any time surprised, by

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saltries from the town. Meanwhile, the English ships sailing up, without opposition, into the very harbour of Leith, discharged their great guns with considerable effect upon the Frenchmen on the shore. On the side of the land, the English batteries, at the same time, played almost incessantly against the walls of the town, and its most conspicuous buildings within. St Anthony's church was battered down: The high church, at this time occupied as a magazine, shared the same fate: Many also of the ordinary dwelling-houses on the eastern side of the town, were equally destroyed. Attempts were then made, with various success, to annoy the besieged by sudden assaults: The mills of Leith were by them pillaged and destroyed: The assaults were continually renewed, now on this side of the town, and now on that, wherever the fortifications seemed the weakest, or wherever their defenders were the least upon their guard. On the eighth day of May, however, an assault made with extraordinary preparations, and in unusual force, was so successfully repulsed by the French; that not a few of the boldest of the assailants were killed; and the besieged were encouraged to hope, that the Scots and English would now raise the siege, and retire in despair. But, within the town, the scarcity of provisions was now such as to compel the French to eat the flesh of their slaughtered horses. A fleet of ten ships now approached

proached the mouth of the bay; bringing from France, all those supplies which were wanted by the besieged. The prospect re-animated those who were fainting under the anguish of hope deferred. But, the English ships intercepted their progress: A sea-fight ensued: five of the French vessels became the prizes of the English: the other five with difficulty escaped, but not to bring relief to the garrison in Leith. All hopes of relief seemed thus to be cut off from the French garrison. They renewed their sallies; but without success. Their only prospect of safety now remained in the negotiations of Monluc, the celebrated Bishop of Valence, with the besieging allies, and at the English Court*.

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DURING this progress of the siege, continual attempts were made to terminate the mutual hostilities by negotiation. Proposals of capitulation were suggested between the besiegers and the besieged. It was anxiously endeavoured to reconcile the Scots once more to their duty to a King and Queen to whom they did not yet refuse that they owed allegiance. Terms of peace were proposed between the Queen of England, the ally of the Scottish reformers, and the King and Queen of France, the pretenders to her royal rights, and the

* Lindsay, p. 329. 330.: Knox, p. 226, &c.: Lesly, p. 523. 524.

SECT. I. the avowed enemies of her person. But, there
 CHAP. VI. was, on all sides, too much exasperation, and too

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little honesty such as might be ingenuously trusted, to suffer these negotiations to be sincerely prosecuted, as long as the besieged French might still hope for relief, or while the Scots and English should not be compelled to abandon the siege, by the want of necessaries, or by some grievous and unforeseen disaster. The disunion of the Scots and English, was an event not improbable, and which might have given relief to the besieged French. But, instead of being divided from one another amidst their co-operations in the siege of Leith; the two allied nations were, for this, but so much the more cordially attached to each other. They perfected their mutual engagements, during the progress of the siege, by new and more solemn contracts, by which the interests of the two nations were, still more closely than before, combined into one. While the Queen-regent, in her retirement in the castle of Edinburgh, enjoyed yet sufficient vigour to interest her mind in the affairs which were passing before her; she earnestly endeavoured to avert, by negotiation, the ruin of the French; exulted, with transports of cruelty and rage, in any transient success of the sallies by the besieged garrison; and laboured with an anxiety that seemed to spring alike from her reverence for that religion which she had hitherto

therto professed, and from her concern for the interests of her daughter, yet to disappoint those ambitious views which she dreaded in the leaders of the reformation, and in the Queen of England. In the mean time; however, the secret sappings of incessant mental anxiety, the natural decays of advancing age, and the attacks of an incurable hydropical distemper, destroyed her health, and brought her fast to the brink of the grave. The approaches of death were made more terrible to her soul, by the hopeless perplexity in which she saw those public affairs involved, which she had been employed to administer. Inviting the Scottish nobles from the besieging army, to visit her in her last hours, she professed her aversion from the cause of their new religion and their liberties, to be now softened; conjured them not to cast off for ever their allegiance to their lawful Sovereign; at once advised and intreated them to seek for such a peace, as, securing their civil and religious liberties, should at the same time dismiss both the French and the English troops for ever out of their country, and should confirm over them the just rights and authority of their lawful Queen. Her last conciliatory requests and exhortations were believed by many among the reformers to have flowed from repentance for the measures she had exercised against them, and from a somewhat of a heaven-inspired conviction of the truth and

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Death of
Mary of
Lorraine.

SECT. I. excellence of their peculiar doctrines. They ac-
 CHAP. VI. cepted her supposed approbation, as a new testi-

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mony in favour of the truth and justice of their cause; and in the pride of this triumph over the fears, anxieties, and weakness of a dying woman, half forgave the wrongs which she had formerly inflicted upon them. She died on the next day after this sorrowful interview with the chiefs of the reformation, on the tenth day of June, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty. The siege, however, still went on. The French, before reduced to great extremities, were overwhelmed with new despondency by the news of her death*.

Her character.

THE death of Mary of Lorraine was regretted even by her adversaries. In comparison with Cardinal Beaton, with Hamilton Duke of Chattelherault, with the principal French ministers who had been employed under her regency, she had ever been eminently popular among the Scottish nation. Even the most cruel and perfidious of those measures which she had been led to employ, in opposition to the progress of the reformed religion, were not laid to her charge; but imputed to the evil designs of the French Court. The seeming repentance of her last hours, might appear

* *Leifæi, Res gestæ*, p. 525. 526.: *Lindsay*, p. 338.: *Buchanan*, lib. xvi. sub fine.

pear an atonement for all the errors which could be attributed to her. Some were willing to account her insincere in the kind and sorrowful professions of her last interview with the reformers.

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Others regarded those professions as the genuine declaration of what her sentiments had long been, although the interests and dependencies of politics, had till now withheld her from revealing them. Both very probably judged amiss. It is not likely, that such a woman could be so basely *insincere* in her dying hours. It is still less probable, that she could have been always a secret friend to the reformation of the Roman Catholic religion, and to the separation of the Scottish kingdom from a dependent connection with that of France. The truth seems to be; that, although ever desirous to see the religion in which her youth had been instructed, firmly maintained among the Scots; and to see Scotland united to France in a manner in which it might become fully subservient to all the grand political views of her brothers: yet, she was willing rather to sacrifice the Catholic religion, than her daughter's crown; rather to leave the liberties of the Scots unimpaired, than to drive them into unconquerable and irreconcilable rebellion. So near to death, it is not probable that she would deliberately give herself to exercise that hypocrisy which has been, on the other hand, ascribed to the last

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transactions of her dying hours. But, the feebleness of death so flurries and discomposes the mind; that she might, in this condition, be apt perhaps to conclude from the prosperity of the reformers, and from the ills which had befallen herself, while she strove to support the ancient religion of the land: that the hand of Providence was lifted up against her, and against the measures of which she had been made the instrument; that there was truth in the doctrines of Knox, although the prejudices of her education, and her habitual modes of thinking, made her unable directly to distinguish it. But, any incipient conviction of this sort, is to be regarded as weakness, not as illumination. The most probable conclusion, therefore, is; that Mary was, in her last hours, neither a hypocrite nor a convert to the cause of the liberties and the new religion of the Scots. She trembled for the inheritance of her daughter; and in weakness, not in clear, vigorous, rational conviction, she was tempted to suppose innovations so successful, to be not entirely incompatible with sanctity and truth. Many other excellencies appear to have adorned her conduct. Although beautiful, and left a widow in the prime of life, she was severely chaste. Political address seems to have been, in her character, united with greater virtue, than commonly accompanies it. It is certain, that her first

first endeavours to weaken the popularity of the family of Hamilton, and her early lenity to the disciples of the reformation, contributed remarkably to advance the cause of that religious reform, which the vigorous measures of Beaton's administration, if they had been perseveringly employed, must at least have retarded, might perhaps have, for a great while longer, suppressed.

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MARY's death was a fatal blow to whatever hopes the French might have conceived of an easy pacification to be mediated by her means. In the condition of parties at the French Court, and in the state of the public force and of the counsels of France in respect to neighbouring nations; the unhappy garrison in Leith, and the commissioners for the management of the French affairs in Britain; found yet other difficulties fatally adverse to their success in extricating themselves, with honour and advantage, from the disasters which now encompassed them. Every other measure having failed, the ambassadors of France, at last, addressed the English Court, with a resolution to accept the best terms which Elizabeth could be persuaded to grant. Plenipotentiaries were mutually appointed from the French and the English Sovereigns. Their interviews and discussions adjusted those matters which were in contest between the two

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Courts,

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Conces-
sions of
Francis
and Mary.

Courts, in such a manner, that the objects for which the Scots had taken arms, and still more those purposes, in order to the accomplishment of which Elizabeth had supported them by such powerful aid, were, in this pacification, completely effected. Being but the subjects of Francis and Mary, the Scottish Congregation could not be formally parties in the treaty by which these differences were to be finally composed. But, their commissioners vigilantly watched its progress. A petition and remonstrance, presented in their name, and under the sanction of Elizabeth, made known their grievances and their wishes. Their Sovereigns were compelled to grant to them, under the denomination of grace and pardon, concessions and forgiveness, such as were almost to annihilate their own authority. Francis and Mary specifically agreed, that they would no longer produce any claims to the possession of the crown of England. They engaged to acknowledge all the force of Elizabeth's rights to inherit her father's kingdom. They consented to relinquish the titles of King and Queen of England, which they had assumed; and to forbear that use of armorial bearings properly belonging to the English Sovereign, which they had also adopted. They were permitted to withdraw their troops, uninjured, out of Leith. And they engaged to introduce no other foreign troops

troops into Scotland at any future time, without the consent of the Estates of the Scottish Parliament. Whatever fortifications on the eastern coast of Scotland, excited jealousies in the minds of the Scots, as being likely to become strongholds from which their liberties might be oppressed; or were esteemed by the English to be too favourable to any invasion, which in future wars the Scots might meditate against their borders: These, the Sovereigns of Scotland and France agreed in this treaty to erase. They promised to confirm whatever acts, whether for the regulation of the civil constitution and government of the kingdom, or for the new settlement of its ecclesiastical affairs, should be enacted in a Parliament of the Scottish Estates, which was to be assembled, immediately after the final conclusion of this treaty. They engaged, that, in the absence of Queen Mary out of Scotland, the executive government should, in future, be intrusted to a Council chosen by the Estates, in concurrence with the Queen. They solemnly bound themselves henceforth to employ only Scotsmen in the administration of all the great offices of state. An act of amnesty was to abolish the memory of all the late dissensions. For the injuries which had been inflicted upon the Popish ecclesiastics, compensation was to be made at the discretion of the Estates in Parliament.

By

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SECT. I. By these, and other concessions naturally spring-
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ing out of these, the foreign Sovereigns of Scotland, fully satisfied their resisting subjects, as well as the English Queen, by whom those subjects were protected. But they thus stripped the regal office so entirely of all its powers and honours, that nothing but anarchy and the total dissolution of civil order, could be reasonably expected to ensue. Elizabeth might well be content with the exaction of those moderate terms, which were alone stipulated in favour of England. Giving to the reformed religion so full a superiority in Scotland; rendering the Scots almost civilly independent of their own Sovereigns; and effacing so much of the ancient odium between the Scots and the English: She thus gained what was to herself and her subjects, much more advantageous than any other concessions from the French and the Scots, could have been.

Scottish
 Parlia-
 ment.

1560.

THAT parliamentary convention of the Scots, in which Francis and Mary had authorised them to meet for the purpose of settling anew the government of the kingdom; assembled at Edinburgh, in the beginning of the month of August, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty. An occasion so extraordinary brought the freeholders together in this Parliament, in unusual numbers. The converts to the doctrines of the Reformation,

Reformation, were, equally in numbers and in influence, greatly prepollent. In the treaty with England, and in the concessions already granted by Francis and Mary to their subjects, the topic of religion had been passed over almost in total silence. It was now the first matter of concern upon which the Scottish Parliament directed their attention. The converts of the Reformation, presented their requests in the modest form of a supplication. The pretended, continual and imperceptible conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ; the arrogated powers of the Papal clergy, to dispense, at their pleasure, the mercy of God to the souls of guilty and perhaps unrepenting men; the idea of an intermediate state of purgation, between the probation of earth, and the eternal happiness of heaven; the vain persuasion, that there could be in human works a perfection truly meritorious in the sight of the God of truth and purity; were, in this supplication, zealously reprobated, as errors deserving to be dismissed out of the acknowledged system of the national faith. The restoration of the primitive discipline of the church of Christ was solemnly demanded. The confiscation of the revenues of the Papal clergy to better uses, was earnestly required. In regard to the spiritual objects of their requests, the wishes of the reformers were readily gratified by the Parliament.

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Parliamentary
establishment of
the reformed
religion.

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liament. The demands of their supplication were converted into a formal *Confession of Faith*; to which the voice of the Parliament quickly gave the full sanction of law. The bishops and abbots of the ancient establishment, who sat as members of this Parliament; afraid to provoke the persecution of those whom they could not successfully oppose; contented themselves with refusing the sanction of their voices to the innovation which they witnessed with horror; daring to resist it, neither by any pertinacious violence of oratory, nor by any dissent recorded in the journals of the Parliament. Only three of the Scottish nobles, Athole, Bothwell, and Somerville, imitated the example of the bishops, in refusing their assent to the new act of Confession. The reformers exulted over the unresisting submission of their adversaries. And the Lord Marishal in particular observed; that the silence with which the Spiritual Lords witnessed this solemn abolition of their faith, afforded to his mind, a new proof of the truth of those doctrines, which they refused to embrace. It was more probably a fear for the loss of their benefices, than any *conscious* want of arguments for the defence of their faith, which held them silent.—In regard to the patrimony of the church; the teachers of the Reformation, were far less successful, than they had been, in accomplishing the triumph of its doctrines

doctrines. The complaints, the exhortations, the remonstrances, the invectives of the preachers, respecting this object, were heard with cold indifference, with resentment, or with hypocritical professions of a feigned concern that nothing could be done to gratify them. The bishops and abbots were generally permitted to retain their benefices, under secret conditions of transferring, by various deeds, a great part of their lands and incomes to those among the leaders in the Reformation, who had power to protect them from other oppressions. All the revenues of the church were greedily regarded as plunder which was to reward their zeal, by the knights and nobles whose exertions had overthrown the old religion. The Romish clergy remained rich, silent, and degraded. The Reforming preachers were left to poverty, to glory, and to a power with the people which could do all things but procure a liberal provision for their own subsistence. While they yielded to gratify the avarice of the nobles, by whom they were oppressed; the dignified clergy of the ancient church, were not prohibited from calling in their own relations to share their spoils. Proud of the success of their preaching, Knox and his brethren of the Reformed clergy, patiently acquiesced in what they deemed injury, but knew not how to redress. The general concurrence of all parties seemed to justify and sanction all the measures of the parlia-

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ment. Encouraged by these appearances, they proceeded to act upon their own resolutions, as if these had been already the settled law of the kingdom, without awaiting the final sanction or disapprobation of Francis and Mary. They closed the series of their proceedings, with appointing a commissioner out of their number, to repair to France for the purpose of presenting their recorded resolutions, and obtaining to them the confirmation of their authority^{*}; and with nominating, at the same time, ambassadors to visit the Court of their protectress Elisabeth, and diligently to cultivate her favour, perhaps more necessary than ever, to support them in those bold measures by which they had encroached on the prerogatives of the Scottish crown^{*}.

Reception
of Sandi-
lands at
the Court
of France.

SANDILANDS of Calder, Lord St John, was the commissioner appointed to repair, to present the acts of this parliament for the sanction of Francis and Mary, at the French Court. This commission required a man of a bold spirit, and a steady unbending character. Of concessions so humiliating, to which their ambassadors had agreed, rather as temporary expedients to save their troops, than from any persuasion that they could be ultimately conducive to the interest and the honour of the French Crown; it was not to be supposed, that the Gallic Sovereigns would cordially or hastily approve.

* Knox : Buchanan, &c.

approve. The danger was now over : The troops were safe. To find means for evading the final ratification of the late treaty, was naturally the next object, to which the Guises would turn their care. But, the ardour of the Congregation, and the feebleness of their party in Scotland, had anticipated whatever they might have begun to prepare. The Scottish reformers had interpreted the words of the treaty in a manner the most favourable to their own designs and wishes ; had enacted laws, where their sovereigns expected from them only humble petitions. News from Scotland, so contrary to their wishes, would have obtained to any messenger, but an ungracious reception from Francis and Mary. Brought by Sandilands, one of the zealous and active among the adversaries of *their* religion and power ; they could not but be heard with enhanced dislike. The approbation which he requested to the acts of the Scottish Parliament, was indignantly refused. From the Guises and the other courtiers, he met with every mark of insolent hate. Uncertain what measures they should take, the French administration obeyed in the first instance, only the emotions of disappointment, rage, and abhorrence*.

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AT the Court of Elizabeth, the ambassadors of

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the

* Knox, &c.

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Negotia-
tions at the
English
Court.

the Scottish Parliament were less ungraciously received. The Earls of Morton and Glencairn, with that profound and refining politician, Maitland of Lethington, were the persons to whom the affairs of this embassy had been intrusted. Their thanks for her aid and protection; their accounts of those bold measures by which they had established Presbyterianism on the ruins of the ancient national church; their proffers in the name of the people of Scotland, to remain for ever after this, steadily attached to the interests of Elizabeth, and of the reformed religion; did not fail to prove extremely acceptable to the English Queen and her ministers. But, either the zeal of the reforming preachers, or the refining policy of Maitland, suggested a proposal which Elizabeth could not hear with equal approbation. Afraid, lest Francis and Mary should refuse to confirm their late parliamentary acts; and willing rather to withdraw themselves from the allegiance of their lawful, hereditary Sovereign, than to submit to the Gallic yoke, or to sacrifice their new religious faith; some of the leaders among the Scottish reformers, had already thought of a perpetual Protestant union with England. The ambition, the weakness of character, and the royal descent of the Hamiltons, made them to be employed as the tools in every great project of the party, of which they were now nominally at the head

head. In consequence of these circumstances, the ambassadors to the Court of England had been en-joined to propose a matrimonial alliance between the English Queen, and the Earl of Arran, as the only measure which could permanently secure the Protestant establishment among the Scots. Elizabeth, unwilling to share her authority with a husband, but never averse from the flattery of courtship, declined the alliance which seemed to be too zealously and officiously proposed, but without expressing any scorn of the merits or pretensions of Arran. Her final answer to all the compliments and requests of the Scottish ambassadors, was such as to encourage them with the hope that her protection might still be continued to foster that religious establishment, which, but for her aid, could not yet have existed. Her interests, indeed, bound her to support the Protestant religion in Scotland, and to support the Scots against France, not less strongly than if Scotland had been already a part of her own dominions*.

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WHILE the Court of France were perhaps meditating some new designs against the Scots; while Elizabeth contented herself to watch the affairs of France and of Scotland, with that vigilance which was necessary to enable her to interpose in due time, if there should arise any future necessity

* Eodem quos supra.

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Conse-
quences of
the death
of Francis
the Se-
cond.

necessity for her interposition; while the Scottish nation were at once fearful and resolute; dreading the indignation and hostility of their own Sovereigns; yet, willing to exclude Mary from her birth-right, rather than sacrifice their religion and liberties: An event happened, by which all these political passions and arrangements were to be suddenly altered. Francis the Second, the husband of Mary, the Scottish Queen, suddenly died in early youth: And by his death, the interests of the Scottish and the Gallic Crowns were again separated out of that connexion in which they had been, for a time, fixed by his marriage: while that influence of the Guises, the uncles of Mary, which had enabled them, during the reign of her husband, to sway the whole powers of the French sceptre, at their pleasure, was by the same event, for ever destroyed. Young Francis left no children to succeed on his throne. His younger brother, Charles the Ninth, became, therefore, now King of France: And that influence which had been possessed by Mary, during the reign of her husband, fell now back into the hands of Catherine di Medici, the widow of Henry the Second, the mother of Francis and Charles. Mary saw herself thus reduced to the humility almost of a private condition, in a Court in which she had lately reigned with more than the authority of a Sovereign. The new King and his ministers, were to adopt

adopt a policy as widely different as possible, from that which had been pursued under the administration of the Guises. No events could have been, in this juncture, more favourable to the views of the Queen of England or to the wishes and interests of those who had, in Scotland, established the reformed religion, and daringly thrown off almost all the bonds of lawful allegiance. It might seem to their narrow and superstitious minds, as if Divine Providence had in this manner suddenly interfered, with an extraordinary exertion of its power, to disarm and confound their enemies, and to guard and save the newly established church. Relieved from many of their fears, concerning the interposition of France, to restore the ancient religion, and to impose upon their necks the yoke of political tyranny; the reformers now proceeded with earnestness and activity, in instituting new forms of ecclesiastical discipline, instead of those which they had abolished. Superintendants were appointed, to exercise somewhat of the authority of the Popish bishops. Ministers were appointed to preach and conduct the public ordinances of religion in parochial districts. Another unsuccessful endeavour was made, to persuade the nobles to resign to spiritual uses, all the confiscated revenues of the ancient church *.

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CHAPTER

* Knox : Lesly : Lindsay, &c.

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CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of the History from the æra of the Death of FRANCIS II. MARY's first Husband, to the Period of MARY's Flight out of Scotland, into England.

Felicity in
which Mary
had lived
at the
French
Court.

THE widowed Queen of the Scots, had spent in France, that period of her childhood and youth, during which the strongest local attachments are usually formed. France had been to her a scene of almost unmixed joy and happiness. Around her, all had been tenderness, respect, and adulation. Before her, none but prospects of augmented grandeur and growing felicity had been suffered to arise. Her youth, her beauty, the exalted greatness of her fortune, the splendid luxury and elegance which then adorned the Court of France, were adapted to represent to her, human life, only as a path of perpetual pleasure, every where adorned with verdure and with flowers. The presence of her uncles had hitherto guarded her from any of those early follies, of which the consequences are ready to blast with misery, even the opening bloom of youth. The fond affection of her young husband, and his enraptured submission to the

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the captivating influence of her charms, had been such as might well excite mutual love in her heart, or at least sentiments of satisfaction and of kindness to supply its place.

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AMID these joys, the death of her young husband, gave her the first foretaste of that bitter misery of which she was afterwards to drink to the very dregs. Its consequences were more afflictive to her mind, than the mournful event itself. In a Court in which she had triumphed, she could not submit to the humiliation of living in privacy, and in subjection to the power of a haughty woman, who would delight to offer her continual indignities. In that critical state, too, into which the affairs of her native kingdom had been reduced, it seemed to her uncles, that nothing less than her own presence would be sufficient to retain the Scots within the bounds of their allegiance, and to prevent them from transferring to Elizabeth, all but the name of their duty and affection, as subjects. She retired, amid the first sorrows of her widowhood, to the city of Rheims; and there awaited the determination of her uncles, and of fortune, in regard to the future disposition of her affairs, and the destination of her life. To return to a rude country, destitute of the elegancies and accommodations of life, such as Scotland; to bid a long

Unpleasing prospect of her future life.

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rugged manners, and the superstitious prejudices of the Presbyterian Scots ; to contend with fierceness and with artifice, in the government of her kingdom ; were prospects to which a young and admired woman, like Mary, educated as she had been, could not look forward without painful expectation, and even horror. Yet, better depart to Scotland, than endure the insolence of Catherine di Medici, better meet the difficulty of contest with the passions and prejudices of her subjects, than suffer her Scottish kingdom to be left for ever from her *.

WHILE Mary was yet in suspense, in regard to her immediate return to Scotland ; both the Catholic and the Presbyterian parties of her subjects, deputed, each, a distinguished person from among themselves, to invite her home. Lord James Stuart, her natural brother, and the person who had in truth been for some time the principal leader in the reformation, was the ambassador of the reformers. John Lesly, Vicar-General of the diocese of Aberdeen, was sent by the Papal clergy, and those who still favoured the interests of France. Lesly, outstripping, in his journey, the activity of Stuart, was the first to present himself in the presence of his royal mistress. Coming from those whom

* Leslæi Res Gestæ : Brantome, &c.

whom Mary and all her French friends and coun-
 fellows were the most inclined to favour, Lesly did
 not fail to meet such a reception as could not but
 encourage him to declare to his royal mistress, all
 the counsels and the wishes of those from whom
 he had been sent. Distrust of her brother and all
 the Protestant party; confidence in the Romish
 clergy; a resolution to begin her actual reign in
 Scotland, with measures of violence, which should,
 by the sudden energy with which they might be
 employed, once more undo all that the reformers
 had sacrilegiously and rebelliously done; were the
 sentiments with which Lesly strove to inspire his
 Queen, and the principles of conduct which he was
 earnest to make her adopt. In other times, his re-
 presentations and his persuasions might have pro-
 ved successful. But, the princes of the house of Guise,
 could not now assist Mary with effectual aid from
 France. While Elizabeth was at hand to assist the
 party of the reformers; it was not to be hoped,
 that they should be easily overpowered and humbled
 by the unassisted strength of the Scottish Papal
 party. That enterprize and those schemes which
 the zeal of Lesly had proposed, would be wildly
 rash and dangerous, without surer means to carry
 them into execution. When, therefore, STUART,
 on the day after Lesly had been admitted into his
 Sovereign's presence, solicited also an audience;
 he was received by her with marks of favour, still

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Invita-
tions and
counsels
from the
two par-
ties in
Scotland,
to their
Queen.

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more flattering than those which had been shewn to Lesly. His advices were earnestly listened to, and his counsels were requested by his sister, with an air which seemed to bespeak her readiness to follow them. Widely different from those of Lesly, they recommended to Mary to sanction the acts of that Parliament, by whose zeal the Presbyterian religion had been already established in Scotland; to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth in all its parts; to return to Scotland, without French guards or mercenaries, and without any other resolutions in respect to her future government, but those of intrusting herself with ready confidence to the fond allegiance of her Protestant subjects, and of winning their willing obedience, by yielding to all their wishes. All the most eminent of those French officers and ecclesiastics, who had served in Scotland, under the regency of Mary's mother, concurred in representing these counsels of Stuart, as the only ones which the present state of her affairs would permit her to adopt. Lesly was therefore soon treated, at least in public, with a coolness which seemed to intimate, that the Queen's government would not be regulated by the counsels of his party, nor accommodated to their interests. It was resolved, that Mary, upon her return to Scotland, should chuse her ministers from among the leaders of the Reformation, and should make them and their friends, the only ostensible objects of her favour.

favour. These were painful measures to be adopted by those who had lately with so much earnestness, striven to maintain the Catholic religion, and the influence of France, among the Scots. But, even these measures were to be adopted, rather than suffer Elizabeth and her partisans—perhaps to extrude Mary for ever, from the throne of her fathers*.

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NOR would Elizabeth suffer these events to pass unnoticed. Soon after the death of Francis the Second, she commanded Throgmorton, her ambassador at the Court of France, to solicit with renewed earnestness, that his widowed Queen should now ratify that treaty of Edinburgh, which had not yet received the final sanction of the French Court. She had again dispatched ambassadors to Edinburgh, who should foment the ancient discontents of the Scots, and should, if possible, hinder them from restoring to their own Sovereign that fond loyalty with which it was natural for them to regard her, if they could be assured that she was not to bring them under servitude to a foreign yoke. But, while the kindness with which Mary listened to the representations of her Protestant subjects, prevented them from entering with too much earnestness into the interests and views of Elizabeth: The firmness and the art with which

Views of
Elizabeth.

* Knox, &c.

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which she was taught to resist the solicitations of Throgmorton, still held in suspense that object of the ratification of the treaty which Elizabeth was the most solicitous to accomplish. Ratifying the treaty, Mary would divest herself of rights, which she had learned to hold particularly dear; which, even while unenforced, greatly exalted her personal consequence in the eyes of all Europe; which might be, sooner or later, by the operation of various not improbable events, receive full effect, so as to degrade Elizabeth from the English throne. On the other hand, it was for her life, for her crown, for the primary interests of the reformed religion, that Elizabeth contended in all the measures of warfare, and all the arts of policy, which she employed against Mary. Should Mary return into the British island, without renouncing her claims to the English crown; she might henceforth be regarded by the Roman Catholics in Britain, and throughout Europe, as the only lawful Sovereign of both the Scottish and the English dominions. Conspiracy or open warfare would be incessantly employed against Elizabeth's life, and royal state. Both in Scotland and in England, the reformed religion might yet be for ever overthrown. Their respective interests thus held Mary and Elizabeth at variance. Little female rivalries increased their mutual dislike. While Mary steadily refused to gratify Elizabeth's wishes, by the
final

final ratification of the late treaty; Elizabeth, on the other hand, denied to Mary such a passport as she required by her ambassador, to protect the ships in which she was to sail to Scotland, from being molested on the passage by the English ships of war. This act of Elizabeth, justified indeed by the unsettled tenor of the intercourse between the two Queens, but favouring more of petty malignity, than of useful and wise policy, tended greatly to exasperate Mary's spirit. She declared her scorn of the insult; while she justified, under plausible pretexts, her own delay to gratify her rival: But, the spirit of the policy which she had adopted, was fitted to win even the Scottish Presbyterians from Elizabeth's interests: And by the strength and swiftness of the ships in which she was to sail, she might easily escape the endeavours of the English to intercept her at sea *.

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HOWEVER reluctant, Mary was now to depart for her own kingdom. The whole Court of France accompanied her from Paris, as far as to St Germain's. She was escorted to Calais, by her uncles, the Princes of the house of Guise, and by a numerous and splendid train of the Gallic nobles. Throgmorton, the English ambassador, being admitted, at Abbeville, to a last interview with her, again urged the ratification of the important

Mary's
voyage to
Scotland.

* Knox: Keith: Maitland, &c.

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important treaty, but declined to obtain from his mistress, on other terms, the passport which Mary demanded. From Calais, she sailed, sorrowful in bidding for ever farewell to France, and not free from fears that she might, in her passage, be made the captive of the English fleet. A sufficient train of French and of Scottish knights and ladies, and among these, the Marquis D'Elbœuf, her uncle, the Duke D'Aumale, Grand Prior of France, in the same degree related to her, with the Sieur de Damville, the heir of the house of Montmorency, were the companions and attendants of her voyage. Escaping, under the cover of a fog that fortunately arose, the vigilance of the English squadron, which was at sea, to intercept her; the galleys in which she with her train were conveyed, within a few days after they had set sail from Calais, arrived safe in the harbour of Leith. The Earl of Eglinton alone, with the vessel on board of which he sailed, was intercepted by the English. But, since Mary, the prize that was expected, had escaped; Eglinton's vessel was hardly sooner seized, than set at liberty. From Leith, after the delay of a few hours, Mary, with her train, quickly proceeded to the palace of Holyrood-house*.

THE poverty of her country, did not fail, at this first aspect, to strike her young mind, accustomed

* Brantome : Knox, &c.

to far different scenes, with surprize and concern. But, the nobles, and her subjects of all ranks, assembled to receive her, with a fond alacrity, and an ardour of congratulation, which she could not see, without extreme satisfaction. Having received the Lord James Stuart with favour; and having, at least in appearance, adopted the counsels which were by him suggested, in the name of the Protestant party: She had thus excited in the minds of the reformers, hopes; that she herself, now returned out of a land of idolatry, might become the convert of their faith; and that her government would be, at once, favourable to the new religion, and not prone to resume those powers which the nobles, the burgeses, and the preachers, had recently usurped from the Crown: hopes by which her arrival was made, for the moment, acceptable to them, above almost any other event that could have occurred. While she still professed the Roman Catholic religion; while her attendants made the same profession; while she enjoyed the favour of the sacred Court of Rome; while there was reason to suppose that only the necessities of her affairs made her courteous to the reformers; she did not forfeit that popularity which in her absence she had hitherto enjoyed among that part of her subjects, who were still devoted to their ancient religion, and to the alliance of France. All ranks, all orders, all parties, thus joyfully

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agreed to bid her welcome. Festive shows and entertainments were lavishly prepared, to celebrate her return. Her form and manners were such as to win the admiration and good will of all who approached her. There was an eager contest between the Catholic and the Presbyterian party, who should gain the first place in her favour, and acquire the direction in her councils. The Earl of Huntley, who had, some time since, seceded from the party of the reformers, was the most eminent nobleman at the head of the Catholic party: the Lord James Stuart was undeniably the most illustrious and the ablest among the votaries of the Reformation. But, while Huntley and his friends were altogether slighted at Court, or were, at the best, treated only with a respect and kindness which conferred no real power; Stuart was suffered to dictate all the first measures of Mary's government; to recommend those who were to be distinguished by her favour; and to bring her dislike and neglect upon those who were disagreeable to him. Now wife by misfortune, the feeblér party of the Roman Catholics, did not yet dare to resent with warm indignation, that disregard, which, in disappointment of their sanguine expectations, Mary had hitherto shewn them. But, it was otherwise with the fierce Presbyterians. Proud of their success in propagating their peculiar tenets in religion; and

and arrogant in the conscious possession of great power in the kingdom: the preachers and nobles of the reformation were disposed to think, that only incorrigible blindness or obstinacy could prevent all who heard the truths of the gospel, which *they believed*, from being converted to embrace it, as soon as it was declared to them. Even amidst the festivities in which they expressed their joy in Mary's return; they contrived to address to her eyes and ears, frequent hints of the horrible wickedness of that idolatrous worship which she was still accustomed to exercise. Their hopes and fears turned, with inexpressible anxiety, upon the consideration, whether Mary was to remain a Papist, or to become the convert of Presbyterianism. And, it was natural, that they should earnestly practise those rude arts which, alone, they knew, in order to accomplish an object that engaged their whole concern. Her brother, Lord James Stuart, although the leader of the Reformation, was, however, too well acquainted with what the proprieties and decencies of life required, not to agree with readiness, that his sister and Queen, with her foreign attendants, should enjoy the privilege of celebrating those rites of the Catholic religion in the observance of which she had been educated. But, Knox and the other preachers, Lord Lindsay, and some other gentlemen of Fife, of extraordinary

zeal,

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zeal, could not without indignation and horror, witness the celebration of that mass which the endeavours of their zeal had abolished. They were, with difficulty withheld from interrupting the service, when the Queen's chapel was first opened for this purpose. Seeing Mary thus far retain her attachment for the old religion, they began to dread, that she was yet to overturn all that they had done in the behalf of reform. They began already to raise against her those outcries which were afterwards more signally to blast her fame, and to embitter and shorten her life *.

Political
state of
EUROPE.

Thus arrived in her native kingdom; in the midst of her own subjects; as yet by the advice of her maternal uncles, acting in compliance with the wishes of those who composed the majority among her nobles, simply because they were a majority; in the nineteenth year of her age, and therefore without experienced skill in the arts of government, but of a maturity of understanding, which might now successfully apply to acquire that skill: Mary found it necessary to consider all the relations of her kingdom, to foreign nations, and to acquaint herself with the respective views, and powers of the surrounding princes and states, that she might be able to regulate her intercourse with them, by a clear political intelligence.

MUSCOVY,

* Knox : Lindsay : Lesly : Buchanan.

MUSCOVY, although no longer seated beyond the limits of the maritime and commercial adventures, at least of the English, was not yet comprehended within the sphere of the ordinary political intercourse of the nations in the middle and southern parts of Europe. The less remote regions of NORWAY, DENMARK, and SWEDEN, were now subject to Protestant monarchs. On that part of Germany, which was in its situation the most northern, the vicinity of these kingdoms of the north, might enable their monarchs to exercise some share of political influence. But, they could not yet enter with any great efficacy into the political system of Europe. They were poor; and their dominions were neither extensive nor populous. They possessed no powerful maritime force; and were little capable of any enterprise which might either advance the prosperity of the Scots, or alarm them with the fears of ruin. The Orkney isles had been long since ceded to Scotland: And even against them there came no expeditions from the continent, such as could threaten to disturb Mary's future government. ICELAND, removed to a considerable distance north-west, from the most northern of the Scottish islets, was occupied by a Norwegian colony, and was subject to the Danish Crown; but was too distant, and too miserably poor, to afford to its inhabitants the means of becoming either formidable enemies,

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MUSCOVY.

DENMARK
and
SWEDEN.

or

SECT. I. or valuable friends, to the most northern and
 CHAP. VII. western inhabitants of the isles belonging to the
 A. D. Scots.
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 1580.

THE wide territory of GERMANY was nearer than the kingdoms of the north; had been long comprehended within the sphere of the ordinary political intercourse of the European nations; GERMANY. was possessed in dominion by an Emperor, and a multitude of Princes, who had, all the chief of them, a considerable influence, directly or indirectly, on the relations and interests of that great political system, with which the Queen of the Scots was, of necessity, to be much connected. Charles the Fifth was the greatest of the Emperors, who had for a long space of time presided over the German empire. Yet, even he had failed to recover to the Emperors, that full authority which was possessed by the surrounding feudal sovereigns. During his reign, had arisen that spirit of religious innovation, by which there was to be introduced into this empire, a new principle of political union, as of political opposition, by which all Germany was to be long rent with dissensions and wars. Germany now contained both PROTESTANT and PAPAL states. These were counterpoised against one another, in a balance in which, but for foreign influence and aid, the PA-

PAL

PAL powers might have easily prevailed. In this dangerous situation, the PROTESTANTS improved, multiplied, and drew closer the ties of the political intercourse of the nations of all Europe, by the efforts which they made to maintain their own political and religious independence. The spirit of their religion made them at the same time zealous, without regard of worldly motives, to win new converts to embrace its saving truths. GERMANY, not less than ENGLAND, had contributed to propagate the doctrines of the Reformation among the Scots. The ties of spiritual brotherhood, as well as the concerns of policy, would naturally continue to interest the GERMAN PROTESTANTS in all the circumstances of the future fate of the Reformation in SCOTLAND. CHARLES the Fifth, lately sovereign of an immensely wide extent of dominion, was now no more. He had failed in the attempt to obtain to his son Philip, the succession to the GERMAN Empire. The interior AUSTRIAN dominions, and the Imperial Throne, had been obtained by the family of his brother FERDINAND. Hence, the successors of Charles the Fifth, possessed dominions less extensive, and powers more divided than his had been. SPAIN and the GERMAN empire were no longer united under one Sovereign. But, the Princes of the house of Austria, still maintained between them a sort of family-

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SECT. I. family-alliance. They usually co-operated with
CHAP. VII. one common purpose. They never strongly nor

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directly counteracted each other's views. They were regarded as forming together one great political power in Europe, whose interests were opposed to those of France and its allies. Of the GERMAN EMPEROR the exertions might be confined in a great measure within the interior limits of Germany. But those of Philip were vast and gigantic, extending from one hemisphere to another, and directed to sway the fate of all Europe.

FRANCE.

FRANCE, so powerful under FRANCIS the First, had since his reign perhaps continued to lose the equipoise in the scale, against Germany and Spain. The battle of St Quintin, and the captivity of the great Montmorency, compelled Henry the Second of France to conclude with his rival Philip a disadvantageous peace. The extravagant projects of the house of Guise, the weakness of an infant-reign, domestic dissensions at the Court and throughout the kingdom; had almost ever since held the French monarchy in a condition in which it could not successfully pursue its former splendid enterprises for foreign conquest, and for aggrandisement in the political system of Europe. The spirit of reformation in religion had pervaded France, as well
the

the surrounding countries ; had gained many converts to the doctrines of the reformers ; and was beginning already to become a cause of political faction and discord in that great kingdom. Not scrupling to seek the alliance of the German Protestants, in opposition to the House of Austria ; the French monarchs had by this measure, inconsiderately made themselves the protectors of that which they accounted heresy. That heresy had, of consequence, spread itself, on this account, the more successfully within their own dominions. But, the house of Guise especially, ardently attached themselves to the interests of the ancient Catholic religion. With the maintenance of its establishments in all their ancient grandeur and importance, they connected views of lofty ambition for themselves and for the French monarchy. Their views had been interrupted. But, Catherine di Medici was, almost equally with them, inclined to promote the papal interests : And the parties of Catherine and of the Guises, divided in regard to almost every other object, were, in relation to this, however, united. Mary, taught, from her early infancy, to adopt the maxims of her uncles, and to follow implicitly their counsels ; had come into Scotland with resolutions to act upon a plan of conduct which they had marked out for her. However she might, for a time, accommodate the spirit of her mea-

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SECT. I. fures to the wifhes of the Prefbyterians, and even
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to the feeming interefts of Englifh policy; it was not to be conceived, that ſhe would not feize the firſt favourable opportunity for the purpoſe of once more reconciling Scotland to the French intereſts, and of re-eſtabliſhing in her kingdom, that venerable religion which ſhe herſelf profeſſed.

Spain.

SPAIN poſſeſſed dominions conterminous to France, on the North and on the South. In Italy, the Spaniſh monarch was eminently powerful. Vaſt was the extent of his territories, in the iſlands and on the continent of the recently diſcovered American hemisphere. At ſea, PHILIP the Second, was at this time, more potent than any contemporary monarch or ſtate. His ſuperſtitious piety devoted him, with a blind zeal, to the will of Rome, and the intereſts of the Roman-Catholic religion. Inheriting the dominions of Charles the Fifth, he had inherited alſo that rivalſhip of France, which Charles had long ſplendidly maintained. Poſſeſſing almoſt deſpotic power in Spain, he was naturally to exerciſe an authority equally deſpotic, over the people of his Flemiſh dominions: And his zealous oppoſition to the progreſs of the reformation, and the gloomy deſpotiſm of his temper; were now, within no long time, to involve him in a conteſt with his

his own subjects in the Netherlands; which was to check his ambition of foreign conquests, and at last to deprive the Spanish monarchy of one fair portion of its hereditary dominions. Having been the husband of the late Queen Mary of England; he still regretted the alliance and the hopes of which her death had deprived him. He was desirous to have won Elizabeth, after Mary, to his bed. In regard to the interests of the young Queen of the Scots, he could not but be desirous; *first*, that Scotland and England should, if possible, be snatched from the hands of the reformers, and restored into the bosom of the Catholic church; and *then*, that, in the political system of Europe, they should be added to the weight of the scale of Spain, not to that of France. If injured and driven from France, by her mother-in-law, Catherine di Medici; it was perhaps natural, that young Mary of Scotland should cultivate the alliance of the Spanish sovereign, in preference to that of the Court of France.

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PORTUGAL was, as yet, great by the military genius of its nobles and its monarch, and still more by its possessions in India, and by the constant influx of wealth which it derived from its Asiatic conquests and its adventurous commerce. But, it acted no important part in the political intercourse of the

Portugal.

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great nations in the middle parts of Europe. Ever since the days of Isabella and Ferdinand, the rising grandeur of the Spanish monarchy, the addition of a new hemisphere to the Spanish dominions, and the increasing bulk, opulence, and activity of Spanish commerce, had continued to outshine and obscure that momentary splendour with which the successful navigation of the Portuguese, had once invested them. PHILIP of Spain now vigilantly watched every change in the political state of Portugal, in the hope probably of one day uniting it by succession or by conquest, to his own extensive dominions. Except as importing foreign materials of luxury into Europe, as influencing the policy of the Spanish sovereign, or as cherished on account of zealous orthodoxy by the Pope; the Portuguese nation and their monarch could not, at this time, attract, in any particular degree, the notice of the Scots.

ITALY.

ITALY; although commercial opulence and activity had now diffused themselves, in a considerable degree, northward; although the reformation had taught almost half the subject world to shake off the yoke of Rome; was, nevertheless, still signally eminent among the countries of Europe. VENICE and GENOA, from among its maritime states, were still enriched by their trade with

with the nations inhabiting the isles and all the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean sea. The successful navigation of the Portuguese, with the later, and more extensive discoveries of the Spaniards, had indeed withdrawn out of the hands of the merchant-states of Italy, some of the richest sources of their wealth. But, the great *capitals*, which the Italian traders still enjoyed; the manufactures of silks, of woollen stuffs, of many other articles for the accommodation of life, which they had introduced from the East, and established in Italy; the fine arts which they cultivated with unrivalled skill and genius; the constant influx of strangers from all other parts of the world, towards the ecclesiastical capital of Europe; still held all the mercantile states of Italy in a condition, as to traffic, industry, and the profits arising from them, considerably opulent and prosperous. FLORENCE, still flourished under the government of the MEDICI; a house, which for a time, added the Papal tiara to the Ducal crown. ROME, the ecclesiastical mistress of the Christian world, was still stupendously great; notwithstanding all the losses she had sustained by what LUTHER, CALVIN, and their followers withdrew from under her Papal dominion. The rise of the JESUITS, a new order of regular clergy, was soon to accomplish for her aggrandisement, almost more than the German reformers had done to humble her.

PIUS

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SECT. I. PIUS the Fourth, of the House of Medici, was
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now supreme pontiff. Although allied to Mary's

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unkind mother-in-law; he was not insensible, that it was of great importance, earnestly to cultivate the favour of the Queen of the Scots. By her exertions, and by the influence of her rights, alone, could the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in Great Britain, be, in its present circumstances, accomplished. Mary was still the faithful votary of Rome. She was still willing to keep up an intercourse with that Court. Her connexion with it, was to prove one great source of all the miseries of her future life. NAPLES, a separate kingdom, in pretended feudal subjection to Rome; SAVOY bounding the Italian territories on the side of the Alps; all the interior principalities and communities of Italy; were in circumstances, in which they could have no direct influence on the political situation of the Scots, or on the fortunes of their young Queen.

SWITZER-
LAND.

CONTIGUOUS to Italy, to France, to Germany, were situated the states of SWITZERLAND, which had long since emancipated themselves from the Austrian and from every other foreign yoke. The freedom which reigned among them, had given an early admission to the doctrines of the reformation. Some of the most eminent of the
first

first reformers, belonged to Switzerland. At GE-
NEVA, especially; which although not properly one
of the *Swiss* states. was, however, connected
with them in the closest alliance; the illustrious
CALVIN, one of the greatest lawyers and the-
logians of the age, had established a more repub-
lican form of church-government, than that ap-
proved by Luther; and had procured the reception
of a simpler, and perhaps a purer code of reli-
gious belief. From GE: EVA and SWITZERLAND,
perhaps even more than from Germany or England,
had that light been effused, by which the Scottish
reformers accounted the gloom of Popish igno-
rance to have been dispelled from among them.
John Knox had been the disciple and the fellow-
labourer of CALVIN. That form of church-go-
vernment which the latter had marked out at
GENEVA, as the most conformable to the plan
and order of the Primitive church; was, by the
latter, about to be established as the Presbyterian
discipline of the Church of Scotland. SWITZER-
LAND was indeed not wholly PROTESTANT; but
was divided between states, PROTESTANT and
POPISH, in a manner not favourable to the an-
cient strength and union of the SWISS CANTONS.
But, it was necessary for all parties in Scotland,
to turn their views frequently towards Switzer-
land; for out of that land the Scottish reformers
might in the case of extreme peril and distress,
expect

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expect to receive more or less of consolation and relief; out of it, might come means to disappoint whatever measures even the Scottish sovereign should, with all her power, employ, to restore over her subjects, the reign of Popery.

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Nether-
lands.

MORE nearly adjacent than Switzerland, lay the provinces of the NETHERLANDS; bordering, at their western extremities, on the German ocean; comprehending that territory, which was known to the ancient Romans, as the seat of the BELGÆ. Having been, in the original distribution of these countries among the subduers of the Roman empire, acquired by different feudal Lords; they had found afterwards a similar fate, with the other provinces of Italy, France, and Germany. They were at length gained by marriage to the house of Austria, as the inheritance of the grandmother of Charles the Fifth. From Charles, they were inherited by his son Philip. They made at present a part of the Spanish dominions. But, the spirit of reformation in religion, and an indignant opposition to the constant endeavours by which Philip strove to destroy their ancient feudal liberties; had already begun to excite a jealousy and a mutual distrust between the inhabitants of the NETHERLANDS, and their Sovereign. They felt the same spirit which inflamed the minds of the
Scots.

Scots. But, their monarch being far more powerful to restrain their turbulence, than was the Scottish Sovereign; they could not so quickly, nor with so slight an effort, throw off his yoke. They were neighbours, with whom the Scots had frequent commercial intercourse. It was from Flanders, that very many of the refinements of manners, of the improvements in the arts, and of the means of opulence, were first introduced into Scotland. This vicinity of these northern dominions of Philip the Second, had a tendency to occasion a political connexion between the Scottish and the Spanish Courts, which would have been otherwise less necessary. While King Philip held with a firm hand, his supreme sway over the FLEMINGS; the contiguity of his dominions must have been favourable to the natural views and interests of the Scottish Queen; for he was the zealous protector of the Catholic religion, and the determined enemy of Elizabeth of England. But, intercourse with his FLEMISH subjects tended to confirm and to foment the *heretical* and the rebellious humours of the Scots; while the FLEMINGS were also, in their turn, prompted to rebellion by Scottish example.

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ENGLAND was much more nearly connected with Scotland, and by many more political relations,

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England.

tions, than any of the states or kingdoms on the continent of Europe. Its vicinity, encouragement, and aid, had materially contributed to the successes of the reformation among the Scots; and had, alone, enabled the Scots to prevent themselves from being subjugated under the despotic yoke of France. As a woman, the English Queen was naturally the rival of Mary: as holding a crown, to which Mary made pretensions, the former became to the latter, of necessity, in a great degree, an enemy: as being a Protestant, while Mary was a Papist; Elizabeth found in this distinction also, a new occasion for hating her sister-Queen: as being more a favourite than Mary herself, with Mary's Protestant subjects; the Queen of England was hence, unavoidably, to be an object at least of the political dislike of the Queen of the Scots: And on the other hand, since the Papist subjects of Elizabeth were willing to regard Mary as being more rightfully entitled to their allegiance; here was a new reason to cherish in the bosom of the Queen of England, continual fear and hatred in regard to the Queen of the Scots. As to the kingdom which she had hopes, one day to inherit; as to a scene where were some of her best friends, and her bitterest enemies; had Mary reason to look with incessant anxiety towards England. The policy of the English Court, held the nation half at variance with all the Roman Catholic states

states and kingdoms, and set Elizabeth at the head of the Protestant interest throughout Europe. The objects of this policy were, to hold Elizabeth on her throne, and to maintain in England, the established Protestant religion. They were directly adverse to the objects of Mary's most confidential advisers; who desired to raise Mary alone to the immediate sovereignty of all Britain, and to restore, throughout the island, the Roman Catholic worship in all its ancient force and splendour.

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IRELAND, a subject principality of the English crown, was, at this time, still in a state in which it added little to the political or military strength of England. Its inhabitants still professed the Roman Catholic religion. They consisted partly of English colonists; in part of the posterity of those wanderers from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean sea, who were perhaps the first occupiers of the isle,—of Celts originally from Britain and allied to the Celtic Scots, who composed the great body of that which was accounted the genuine Irish nation,—of Norsemen the posterity of those famous maritime rovers, who had once possessed in splendid sovereignty, the fairest parts of the eastern coasts of Ireland. The adventures of Earl Strongbow and the Fitzgeralds,

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the achievements of King John, the final discomfiture of the famous enterprizes of the gallant Bruces; had established the English in Ireland, had maintained and extended their conquests, had given them somewhat more than the nominal dominion of the whole isle. But, the English were few in comparison with the numbers of the native Irish. The latter had become, in their manners, continually more savage, ever since their subjection to the English power. Remembrance of that ancient consanguinity which was acknowledged between them and the Scots; the common hatred with which both Scots and Irish had been hitherto accustomed to regard the English; the community of the language of the Highland Scots with that of the native Irish; the attachment which the Irish still fondly cherished among themselves, towards the Roman Catholic religion; were all likely to give to Mary some advantages towards disturbing the tranquillity of her rival Elizabeth, by intrigues with the native and ancient inhabitants of Ireland.

Policy of
Mary's
opening
reign.

IN this manner did it become Mary and her confidential counsellors, to consider her relations, as Sovereign of Scotland, to the other kingdoms and states of Europe, at the time when she first assumed the reins of the Scottish government,
into

into her own hands. For a while, she continued to hold her Court at Edinburgh. Her Gallic attendants yet remained around her. The Scottish nobles, with emulous gallantry and obsequiousness, contended to win the favour of their young and beauteous Queen. Loading with new favours, and treating with increasing confidence, her natural brother; she began to win him in some degree, from his former ardent attachment to the Presbyterian cause. Possessing almost the confidence of her Protestant subjects, yet, not having lost the favour of the Papists; she was thus for a moment, almost more considerable in the isle, than her cousin Elizabeth. Following the advice of her most politic counsellors; she eluded all Elizabeth's demands, for the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, by offering that ratification on the condition that it should be accompanied, on the part of Elizabeth, by a correspondent recognition by Elizabeth herself, and by the English Parliament, of Mary's right, to succeed after her cousin on the English throne. Amidst these circumstances, and while she observed this tenor of conduct, there could occur little to disturb the felicity of Mary's life or reign. Yet, some perplexing and disagreeable incidents were to arise, of course, from time to time. *Chatellard*, a gallant French knight, of Scottish extraction, fascinated by Mary's beauty, and tempted by the
 enchanting

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enchancing openness and gaiety of her manners ; made an attempt upon her chastity, which due respect for her own honour, compelled her, however reluctantly, to punish with death. The *Hamiltons* ; as being after Mary herself, the next heirs to the Scottish crown ; as having deserted her interests, in order to set themselves at the head of the reformation ; as having lately aspired to an union with Elizabeth, on which Mary could not look with a favourable eye ; were of all those who resorted to her Court, perhaps the least acceptable. Young Arran in these circumstances, aspired in vain to the honour of her hand in marriage : And the weakness of his own understanding, with the fordid parsimony of his father, which refused him an equipage, and means of expence, becoming his rank ; were adapted to increase that indifference and dislike with which he would, even otherwise, have been regarded at Mary's Court. He who had, with difficulty, escaped as a fugitive from the designs of her uncles at the Court of France ; was, even on this account alone, indeed, not likely to become with her an object of favour. On the leaders of the reformation were conferred almost all the ostensible offices of trust and dignity ; yet, without the entire exclusion of the most eminent nobles of the Catholic party. But, Huntley, of this party far the most eminent and powerful chief, and with Huntley, all the most
zealous

zealous of those who shared the same counsels, and the same religious passions; soon began to nourish in their breasts, a rising indignation against the pride and the power of the Lord James Stuart, and against that system which seemed to indicate, that Mary was gradually relinquishing the cause of the Catholic religion, and of that most loyal part of her subjects, which still adhered to its interests. To the contentions natural to a number of fierce and unpolished nobles, when assembled together in the same city and Court, there were added collisions the most violent of party-views and concerns, as well as of the wishes and demands of personal avarice and ambition. Feuds and rencounters took place in the streets; conspiracies were formed and feigned; the clamours of the Papists rose loud on the one side, those of the Protestants, on the other. Mary held as yet that doubtful tenor of policy, which was alone prudent in her situation. But, the pretensions of rivals for her favour, the jealousies of the two great parties of her subjects, the anxious fickle humour of human nature, made it impossible, that she should long persevere in this policy with effects sufficiently happy. It was in regard to Elizabeth alone, that Mary's present policy proved completely successful. Never, either before or after this period, does Mary appear to have

SECT. I.
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1580.

SECT. I. have acted in a manner that made her more truly
CHAP. VII. formidable to the English Queen*.

A. D.

1543 to

1580.

Mary's vi-
sit to the
Northern
Counties,
and the
distur-
bances ex-
cited by
the Gor-
dons.

It was, at length, time that Mary, imitating that conduct which the spirit of the feudal policy required of every Sovereign, and which her own father and other immediate ancestors had not failed to observe; should make a justiciary progress throughout her dominions; and should at once gratify her loyal subjects by her presence, and reduce the turbulent to peaceful order and submission by the display of that power which would necessarily attend her steps. On the southern borders, all was unusually peaceful and quiet; for the recent friendship with England, had contributed greatly to suppress the wonted turbulence of the borders. But, almost ever since the commencement of the reformation, the state of the Highlands had been neglected. In the eastern Highlands, almost all the powers of sovereignty had been either expressly delegated to Huntley, or else had been for a long while usurped by him. The art of the Lord James Stuart, now Earl of Marre, unceasingly directed to overthrow those who were at once his personal enemies, and the adversaries of his party; the rising dissatisfaction of the Catholic faction, and especially of Huntley, the most potent of their chiefs; the alliance which Huntley had contracted with

* Buchanan: Lesly: Knox, &c.

with the Hamiltons, by the marriage of his eldest son to the daughter of the Duke of Chattellerault; all concurred, about this time, to make the Queen regard that potent Earl with increasing dislike, and even to kindle in her mind, resentful jealousies of his loyalty. These were sufficient reasons to induce her to direct her progress, under Marre's guidance, towards that part of her kingdom in which Huntley had been so long permitted to reign without controul. Marre was to be enfeoffed in his newly acquired earldom: And there was, therefore, in his wish to obtain a ready surrender of this fief, from the stewards of the crown, an additional motive to make him desirous of conducting his Sovereign's progress into those parts. As yet, there had been no measure openly threatened against Huntley, which could, reasonably, make him dread the approach of his Queen. As yet, there had been nothing openly and avowedly committed by Huntley, in opposition to the royal authority, which could justify any attempt by the Queen and her ministers, to destroy his life, or to take away his estate. But, between Huntley and Marre, mortal hatreds necessarily and secretly prevailed. While Huntley survived in his present greatness; the Roman Catholic party would still be sufficiently powerful to hinder Mary from remaining absolutely at the mercy of the reformers. Huntley had, from the first, aspired to

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Opposition
of the in-
terests of
the Earls
of Marre
and Hunt-
ley.

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1542 to
1580.

that place of power and confidence near the Queen, which Marre enjoyed. Marre durst not resolve to desert the party of the reformers, which he had headed, and to give himself wholly up to those designs which could alone be entirely acceptable to the Queen and to her uncles in France. The jealous vigilance of Knox, would not much longer allow him to act a double part between the two parties. As soon as he should make himself known to Mary, as the unalterable votary of the interests of the reformation, he might be removed from her councils to make room for Huntley. Amidst such preparations; while these two rival chiefs were mutually in this temper, in regard to one another; while Mary was about to set out on her destined progress; John Gordon the Second son of Huntley, aspiring to the Queen's hand, yet affronting her royal authority; afforded to Marre, a just occasion to send him into confinement. Not brooking a slight and temporary punishment, which his misconduct had provoked; impatient of being detained behind, while the Queen whom he loved, was gone to visit his father's domains; the young man made his escape. Ere Mary could advance so far northwards, he had rejoined his father; had inflamed the Earl's hatred against Marre, to open, undisguised rage; and had assisted in making preparations for the Queen's reception, of which the splendour might do him due honour in her eyes, while

while the force should be sufficient to prove dangerous to Marre. This conduct of young Gordon, being an act of open rebellion, presented to Marre, new means for inflaming in his sister's mind, that indignation against the Gordons and their party, which their own imprudence and their adversary's artifices had already begun to excite *.

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1580.

IN this temper of mind, were the two Earls of Huntley and of Marre, in respect to one another; and such were the angry sentiments which the Queen had begun to conceive towards the former; when she went upon this progress through the North-East Highlands. Marre, Morton, Maitland of Lethington, and others from among the leaders of the reformers, composed her train. When she approached near to the limits of the territory of Huntley; his Countess respectfully came to meet her on her way; endeavoured, with the most insinuating address, to soothe her resentment; intreated pardon for the indiscretions of her second son; presumed to express her hopes, that the Queen would yet accept him for her husband; and earnestly invited Mary to direct her journey to the Castle of Strathbogie, where magnificent preparations were already made for her

August
1562.

Mary's
progress to
the North.

Y y 2

reception.

* Lindsay, 333: Buchanan, l. xiv. p. 611: Hume's History of the Douglasses, p. 283: Knox, 318: Lellæi, l. x. p. 542: Spottiswood, 184. 185: Keith, 223—30.

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reception. Mary gave, at first, but an ungracious hearing to the flatteries, the apologies, and the intreaties of the Countess of Huntley. Yet, when this lady promised that her son should again deliver himself into confinement, and submit to the Queen's pleasure; Mary's anger was, in spite of the practices of those about her, in a great measure, appeased; and she refused not to honour the Castle of Strathbogie, with her presence, as she should advance farther on her journey. But, scarcely had Sir John Gordon, in compliance with the Queen's demand, and his mother's promise, surrendered himself into the hands of the messengers, and departed with them, for Stirling Castle, there to remain in ward; when new fears, anxieties, and jealousies arose in his mind; he escaped from his guards; and hastening to his own castle of Findlater, impatiently summoned his own vassals to attend him in arms. Perhaps, indeed, he might be, from the first, insincere in his last submission to the Queen's will; and might surrender himself into custody, merely for the purpose of drawing her and her ministers within his father's power; while it was always his intention to break from the custody of his guards, as soon as Mary should have advanced too far to retire, when alarmed by the news of his escape. But, whatever his designs, and those of his father; they were, in the first instance, quickly disappointed.

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disappointed. Mary heard the news of his escape, before she had entered the Castle of Strathbogie, or had put herself and her attendants, irrevocably within the power of Huntley. Enraged herself at this insolent act of disobedience, which seemed to make a jest of her authority; and warned by her ministers, who, every step they advanced, began to see more clearly, that they were entangling themselves within the toils of a mortal foe: She now refused to enter the Castle of Strathbogie; and turning her journey by a different way, proceeded directly towards the royal Castle of Inverness. In the first moments of their alarm and disappointment, the Gordons rashly adopted measures of bold rebellion, such as could neither be palliated nor forgiven. And, indeed, if their secret purposes were, to murder Marre and Mary's other ministers; to make herself their prisoner, and to compel her to become the bride of Sir John Gordon: no wonder that they should be irritated to wild indiscretion, by the frustration of prospects so bold and so criminal. The Castle of Inverness had been for some time held by Huntley, in lieutenancy from the crown: And his deputy and kinsman, Alexander Gordon, in obedience probably to Huntley's command, most certainly in regard to his interests; refused to receive the Queen into that castle, when she presented herself with her attendants, at the gates. An insult like this, exceeded

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1560.

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1580.

Huntley's
rebellion.

exceeded the mad audacity of all that the Gordons had hitherto done. Lodgings were with difficulty provided for Mary, among the huts of the adjacent town. And, in the fear of what the rebel Gordons might farther dare to attempt, some vessels were procured and kept in readiness at the mouth of the river, to favour the Queen's escape, if that should become necessary. But Huntley, with his sons, and their partizans, suffered the critical moment to pass unimproved. Having once passed the bounds of duty; they ought in prudence, to have pushed on their rebellion with impetuous activity, to its final success. While they delayed to seize the Queen's person, and cut off those of their enemies who attended her; Marre endowed with talents much fitter for an occasion of difficulty and danger; quickly assembled the surrounding loyal clans; seduced from Huntley's interests, several others in which he had trusted; and soon saw himself at the head of a force sufficient to make the Governor of the Castle of Inverness, respect his summons, or pay the forfeit of disobedience. The castle was surrendered: The Governor was beheaded: The Queen, although thus far successful, yet not sufficiently mistress of the country, and therefore in these parts insecure; returned in haste to Aberdeen. Huntley and his adherents now confounded to find all their hopes thus frustrated, and the guilt of rebellion unadvisedly

unadvisedly dragged upon their heads; made haste to disavow their guilty purposes, to implore the pardon of their errors, and once more, if possible, to reconcile themselves to their injured and offended Sovereign. Pardon was not absolutely denied them. But, it was determined, to deprive the haughty and turbulent Earl of the means of hereafter threatening his Sovereign's safety, or resisting her authority. Already had the grant of the earldom of Marre from the crown to a subject, appeared to narrow the sphere of Huntley's power. That earldom, now resigned into the hands of Mary, by its last possessor; was at his request bestowed on his father-in-law, the Lord Erskine: while to compensate her brother for the resignation; she was persuaded to grant to him the Earldom of Moray, of which Huntley was for this end deprived. The news of this forfeiture and grant, convinced Huntley, that he was undone. Hitherto, it might be, that he had acted in the persuasion; that his plans, as being no less useful to the cause of the Roman-Catholic religion, than to the private interests of his own house; must be perfectly acceptable to the Queen, as soon as their success should enable him to explain them to her. He, now saw the failure of his first measures, about to accomplish the overthrow of his house; without affording him the means of convincing Mary; that by ruin-

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1580.

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ing him, she would weaken her own hands, and actually endanger her own ruin. His adversary, now Earl of Moray, with the cabal who shared his counsels, easily saw and seized all the advantages which Huntley's ambiguous situation, those acts of imprudence into which it betrayed him, and the unexperienced ingenuousness of Mary's mind, necessarily afforded, to enable them to pursue the blow which they had already struck, to the entire ruin of the house of Gordon, and of the Catholic party. Huntley had lost his last opportunity against them, immediately after what passed at Inverness. The new grant of the Earldom of Moray, was destined at once to weaken and to irritate. Huntley and his sons, now desperate, refused in arms, the surrender of those strong places which were required, in order to the enfeoffment of the new-made Earl of Moray, in the domains of his Earldom. Those parties of troops which had been despatched to demand and to receive the necessary surrenders, were dispersed or cut in pieces by the armed vassals of Huntley. Mustering all that military force which their possessions enabled them in the circumstances of feodism, to command; the Gordons impetuously hastened in martial order, towards Aberdeen; where Mary, with her ministers, at this time, awaited the final execution of those measures, which had been commanded against those

these powerful rebels. Moray, whose genius was sufficiently equal to the difficulties of the occasion, had already summoned all the loyal clans in these parts, to assemble in arms, to protect the person and support the authority of their Sovereign.

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A numerous host, but disorderly, imperfectly armed, and of suspected faith, soon attended the royal banner. The Earl of Moray advanced from Aberdeen, to meet the army of Huntley, on their march. While Huntley halted at Corrichie, the royal forces came up. He saw their approach with anxiety, doubtfulness, and fear; but soon encouraged himself with the assurance, that the Forbesees, Hays, and Leslies, who appeared in the van-guard of Moray's troops, would betray the army in which they served; and then, without farther delay, save only to supplicate, in a short prayer, the favour of Heaven, marched onwards to the fight. The recreant Forbesees, Hays, and Leslies, did not disappoint his hopes. At the first assault, they recoiled back in disorder. The troops of Huntley followed hard after, till their onset was more firmly met by the men of Angus and Fife, the zealous votaries of the Reformation, who composed the best strength of Moray's army. In this extremity of danger, Maitland of Lethington, in a strain of pious and deprecatory exhortation, endeavoured to animate the forces around him; the Master of Lindsay, and the *Laird* of Pittarrow, with protended spears,

Battle of
Corrichie.

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opposed the disorder of the fleeing Forbeses, Hays, and Leslies, from breaking in upon their ranks ;—and being imitated in this act by all their followers and fellow-soldiers,—were not frustrated in their purpose. Huntley's troops, armed only with broad swords, could not resist the onset of the Lowland spearmen ; could not break in upon their order ; and wanting missile weapons, could not annoy them from a distance. About four and twenty of the rebel soldiers were slain, when the rest turned their backs, and fled. The treacherous clans, who had, by their flight, almost betrayed the royal army, now returned, and eagerly joined the pursuit. In this pursuit, about an hundred were slain. The Earl of Huntley himself, being overgrown, and corpulent, fell down in the attempt to escape, and although unwounded, died of anguish, fatigue, and probably absolute suffocation. More than an hundred of his followers, and among these, his sons John and Adam Gordon, were made prisoners. John soon after died on the scaffold : Adam, on account of the immaturity of his years, was spared. The Lord Gordon, Huntley's eldest son, and son-in-law to the Duke of Chatelherault, was likewise tried and convicted as guilty of treason, but was spared from execution, by the lenity of the Queen, and only detained in confinement. Huntley's dead body was conveyed
to

to Edinburgh, and there kept unburied, at the Abbey of the Haly-rude, till after his parliamentary condemnation for treason, and the formal forfeiture of all his honours and estates. The other accomplices in the guilt of the Gordons, were punished also, in proportion to their guilt, their consequence in the rebellion, and their want of protectors among the friends and creatures of Moray and the other leaders in the Reformation *.

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SUCH was the termination of that contest of ambition, which had been keenly prosecuted between the Earls of Huntley and Moray, ever since the death of the late Queen-Regent. In this manner did the Protestant party, acting under the directions of Maitland, Morton, and Moray, cut off, as it were, the right-arm from the party of the Catholics, by accomplishing the fall of the House of Huntley. Could the Earl of Huntley have opposed his rival with deeper art, and with more, at least of exterior moderation; had Mary from the first openly espoused the Catholic cause, or had she been at this time more mature in political experience and address: In either of these cases, the fate of Huntley might perhaps have been averted. But, the opposition between the Popish and the Presbyterian cause,

Reflec-
tions.

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* Knox, 320. 321: Buchanan, 620. 621: Leslie, p. 552.

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the personal rivalry between the leaders of the two parties, were, from the first, unavoidable.

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1580.

Although no particular conspiracy appears to have been previously formed on either side; yet, there existed a mutual disposition to seize, in general, every occasion for reciprocal humiliation and injury. The irritations, the opportunities of actual contest, were sufficient to do all the rest: And they did it. In these, Moray, with the name and authority of the Queen, as well as of the Presbyterian party, on his side, was more than a match for all the power and the headlong rage of the Gordons. But, Mary was, in this instance, made an instrument in the hands of her brother and his partizans, for reducing the Catholic party to a degree of weakness, highly prejudicial to her own true interests. The preachers, and all the zealous reformers, naturally triumphed in the fall of Huntley, as the Israelites of old were wont to indulge a malignant joy in contemplating the death of some hostile and idolatrous king.

Negotia-
tions with
England.

AFTER these transactions in the north, Mary, with her Court, returned to Edinburgh. The correspondence with the English Court was still continued with the same professions, artifices, and insincerity as before. Mary proposed to meet Elizabeth at York, in the hopes, that a personal interview

interview, between herself and her cousin, might easily adjust all those differences which were only prolonged and exasperated by the intervention of ambassadors. But, Elizabeth, probably unwilling to appear in the same Court, with a Queen whose youth, beauty, and winning manners, far excelled her own; and aware, that the rivalry between herself and the Queen of the Scots, arose too much from their relative political situations, to be extinguished by any means which should be employed in a personal interview; declined, under specious pretexts, to meet Mary at York; and only continued to renew advices and professions of friendship, without altering her sentiments toward her cousin, or entering anew into any specific amicable engagement*.

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1580.

THE Reforming clergy, about the same period, began, once more to harass Mary and her ministers, by their complaints, exhortations, and remonstrances. Knox and the other preachers did not, like the Earl of Moray, derive extraordinary advantages of private interest from the late transactions of Mary's government. Having raised Moray into power, having still supported him by all their influence and credit; they now, however, expected him and his friends in the administration, to complete the work which had been

Measures
of the Re-
formers.

* Melville's Memoirs, &c.

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been so far happily advanced, to effect the conversion of the Queen, to destroy the Catholic party, and to assign for the support of the preachers and the establishments of the new religion, at least a reasonable and adequate portion of the property which had been possessed by the former church. While Huntley lived; and while the Catholic party were powerful in such a leader; the chiefs of the Protestants had still a thousand pretexts arising from these considerations; under which they could excuse themselves to the zealots of their party, for not urging matters too hastily to any dangerous extremity. By the fall of Huntley, those pretexts were removed. The Catholics were now so much weakened, that they could make no formidable opposition to whatever measures should be thought farther necessary to give full stability to the Reformation. Why then delay,—was the language of Knox to Moray and the other ministers,—to accomplish all those objects, for the sake of which their party had hitherto supported their power? Moray, Morton, and Maitland, on the other hand, knew, that any new forwardness of zeal, on their part, in favour of the Reformation; might deprive them at once of whatever favour they possessed with the Queen. They had enriched themselves; they had arisen to power: And they desired not to pursue the views of their party,

party, farther than might be necessary to retain that party in their interests, and to maintain themselves in power. Knox and his disinterested brethren were enraged to find their hopes from Moray disappointed. Knox scornfully renounced the Earl's friendship. A new covenant was devised, and solemnly subscribed by a very numerous assembly of the Protestants at Ayr. Moray and his associates were alarmed; and took some measures to satisfy their friends. Yet, at the subsequent meeting of the Parliament, no measures adequate to give satisfaction to the friends of religion, were adopted. It appeared evident, that, instead of gaining Mary to the Protestant cause, those men, in whom the reformers had trusted, were betraying that cause, for the sake of baser ends. The preachers appealed to the people. Knox, from the pulpit, by his letters, in the presence of the Queen herself, exercised his zeal with vehemence so steady, so intrepid, so ardent and persevering; that he seems to have, at last, triumphed over the artifices and the tergiversation of Moray, Morton, and Maitland; and to have compelled them openly to act for the Reformation, in disregard of the secret wishes of the Queen*.

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WHILE

* Knox: Buchanan: Spottiswood: Lesly, *sub fine*: Lindsay, &c.

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WHILE these things passed, various foreign Princes began to send embassies to ask the lovely Queen of the Scots in marriage. It was wished by the Princes of the House of Austria, the

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1580.

Proposals
of mar-
riage,
made to
Mary.

uncle and the cousins of Philip of Spain, to obtain for the Archduke, the third son of the Emperor Ferdinand, a royal bride, who could give, with her hand, the independent establishment of a kingdom to her husband, and who could strengthen the House of Austria, by a new alliance. Catherine di Medici would gladly have persuaded her daughter-in-law, to become the wife of her third son, although the widow of his elder brother. Philip of Spain asked her in marriage, for his eldest son, the unfortunate Carlos, who was afterwards put to death by his father's command. The Protestant Princes were also disposed to aspire to obtain in marriage, so lovely a Queen, whose subjects were now also Protestants. Elizabeth and the English nation, since Mary was to be regarded as the apparent heir to the English crown, were naturally led to look with an attentive eye towards any matrimonial connection in which she might prepare to engage. Mary's own subjects of Scotland, were ready to controul her humour and affections, and to demand, that she should marry none but a man likely to favour the Protestant religion, and the interests of that reforming party which had now the chief direction

of

of her government. The voice of nature whispered to her own heart, that her youth and beauty were not destined for obstinate celibacy. Her uncles of the House of Guise were, above all, to be consulted: And she might believe, that they would not fail to dispose of her hand, in a manner the most advantageous for her, the most favourable to their own ambition, and the most serviceable to the endangered interests of the Catholic religion*.

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1550.

BEAUTIFUL, young, great, and opulent; these advantages made it only so much the more difficult for Mary to make a proper choice among her suitors. So many were interested to direct her marriage, in a manner which might be consistent with their interests, that she could not be left at liberty, to obey at once, the wishes of her own heart. Abroad, the Catholics had the greatest influence to regulate the matrimonial alliance of this young Queen. Within the island, however, the Protestants held her almost entirely within their power; and were not likely to suffer her to decide for herself in a case of so much importance. The desires of her own ambition, and perhaps also of her affections, would have led her to prefer the alliance of the Prince of Spain:

Difficulties which stood in the way of Mary's marriage.

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But,

* Additions aux Memoires de Castelnau: Melvil, 69: Forbes's State Papers: Keith, 239, &c.

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1580.

But, Philip did not earnestly urge this negotiation. While so many marriages were proposed, Mary and her uncles were thus held in indecision, and prevented from accepting any one. The Catholic pretenders to her hand, defeated the views and endeavours of one another: Elizabeth and the Presbyterian ministers of the Scottish government, prevented the young Queen from coming to any determination in favour of the Catholic party. No Protestant suitor offered his addresses, whom personal as well as political considerations were not ready to make Mary reject with scorn: But, even they who had not influence to accomplish the success of their own views, were often sufficiently able to thwart the wishes of others. It at last appeared, that Elizabeth and the Presbyterians in the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, had such authority over Mary's fate, as must render it *impossible* for her to give her hand to any of the Catholic Princes, on the continent. Because she was apparent heiress to the English crown; because it was the interest of Elizabeth, that her lovely cousin should not become the bride of any powerful foreign Prince, whose alliance might enable her, without delay, to prosecute those rights which all the Papists zealously ascribed to her; because none but a Protestant and humble alliance appeared likely to secure to her Presbyterian subjects, the stability
of

of that Reformation which they had accomplished, and the security of those privileges destructive of the powers of the Crown, which they had usurped. Mary was therefore doomed to live a life of celibacy, to *steal* a marriage, or to accept from Elizabeth, and from the hands of the faction of Moray and of Knox, a husband who should perhaps be odious to her. Yet, the wishes and the political interests of all Europe, called loudly upon her, to enter into a change of condition which might give a royal progeny to the hopes of the subjects of both the Scottish and the English Crowns. Her particular situation in these respects, had thus the effect of procuring to Mary a sort of political courtship, from all quarters, that did not fail to be, in a considerable degree flattering to a young, gay, and beautiful woman*.

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1580.

AMIDST these difficulties, and this distant courtship, the idea of a humbler marriage, which might at least give dissatisfaction to no party, was, by some means, suggested to Mary. Margaret, the sister of Henry the Eighth of England, the Queen of James the Fourth of Scotland, the grandmother of Mary, had born to her second husband, the turbulent and ambitious Earl of Angus, an only daughter, Lady

3 A 2

Margaret

* Melville's Memoirs: Buchanan: Knox, &c.

SECT. I.
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Margaret Douglas. This lady, the niece of Henry the Eighth, was brought up at his Court, and was, in the flower of her age, given in marriage to the Earl of Lennox, himself in the next

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1580.

The idea
of a mar-
riage with
Lord
Darnley,
propoled.

degree, after the Hamiltons, allied to the Scottish Crown, and at that time an exile, on account of his unsuccessful exertions to promote the English interests. In consequence of this marriage, the children of Lennox and Lady Margaret Douglas were, next after the House of Hamilton, the collateral heirs to the Scottish Crown; next after Mary herself, collateral heirs to the crown of England. The eldest son of their marriage, was Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley; a young nobleman who now wanted some years of being equal in age to Mary, was uncommonly handsome and graceful in his person, was accomplished in every manly and courtly exercise, and at this time resided in the English Court. He was Mary's cousin. Being handsome, it was probable, that he might win her affections. A marriage with him would add no formidable power to the authority of the Scottish Crown. It would combine into one the rights of two rival families. He was a Protestant; and the Scottish Presbyterians might therefore expect, that he would become the faithful friend of their interests. But, being young, he had as yet formed no obstinate habits of opinion

opinion or action; and Mary and her Roman-
Catholic friends, might therefore expect him to
become, without difficulty, a convert to the an-
cient faith, and to all the views of policy which
they connected with this faith. Since the Earl
and Countess of Lennox, his parents, and he
himself, were the subjects of Elizabeth; she was
not likely to be adverse to a courtship, of which
it seemed, that she might, at her pleasure, con-
troul the progress. Every thing therefore con-
curred to invite young Darnley to become a suitor
for the affections of the Scottish Queen, and to
make Mary expect his addresses with a previous
inclination to favour them*.

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BUT, Elizabeth's art or caprice had, in the
mean time, provided another candidate for Mary's
favour. Lord Robert Dudley, one of the hand-
somest men in her own Court, was, at this time,
a widower, and was believed to be regarded by
Elizabeth herself, with much of the partiality of
love. To try, therefore, whether the English
nation would patiently see Dudley exalted to
share her own throne; to give this favourite new
dignity, by naming him as not unworthy of be-
coming the husband of a Queen; to make a shew
of the lofty disinterestedness of her own attach-
ment to him; to vex and irritate Mary's spirit,
by


Elizabeth
offers
Dudley for
a husband
to Mary.

* Buchanan : Knox, &c.

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by offering, as worthy of her love, a person whom she could hardly be expected to regard otherwise than with disdain; to engage the Scottish Queen, in a vain negotiation which should have the effect to delay her marriage; or for whatever other reason; Elizabeth proposed her own favourite Dudley, as a man whom she would with pleasure see the husband of her beautiful cousin. After some bursting expressions of indignation, when the proposal was first communicated to her; Mary was at length induced, by the persuasions of her courtiers, to open a negotiation for the purpose of determining concerning the merits of this proffered marriage. Had she broken off all intercourse with Elizabeth, on account of a proposal so contemptuous; the Queen of England and the Protestants, would have drawn from this act, no inconsiderable political advantages against Mary's rights. While she still kept up a sort of amicable intercourse with England; her own Presbyterian subjects were well pleased; and she found means of carrying on a secret correspondence with the English Papists, which was highly useful towards strengthening her pretensions to the inheritance of the English crown. It was still easy to elude Elizabeth's insulting offer, in the same manner in which the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh had been eluded,—by demanding reciprocal conditions, which Elizabeth would

would not chuse to grant. Dudley, now created SECT. I.
CHAP. VII. Earl of Leicester, regarding the proposal as  meant only to try his affection for Elizabeth, was A. D.
1542 to
1580. not forward in the expression of his wishes for the match.—While this negotiation languished, young Darnley came to visit the Scottish Court*.

LENNOX, his father, found a reasonable pre-Lord
Darnley at
the Scot-
tish Court. tence for coming, at the same time, to his native kingdom, in the necessity for regulating his private affairs, and for prosecuting the rights of his wife, to the inheritance of the earldom of Angus, since her father was now dead.—The attainder passed against Lennox, under the regency of Hamilton, was, by a solemn Parliamentary act, in the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-five, reversed. The Earl of Morton and his kindred were reconciled to Lennox, by his promising no longer to urge against them, the claims of his family to the earldom of Angus which they had seized. In return for concessions so great, on the part of 1565. Lennox; Morton, and his friends scrupled not to offer their encouragement to the high match which was now talked of for his son. The Presbyterian party were not sorry to bring upon the field a new family, which they might set in opposition to the Hamiltons, and which, possess-
ing

* Knox, Melville, &c.

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ing no formidable talents, or actual authority, might be easily managed in their hands, as mere instruments for their own purposes. Even the preachers and the zealots of the Reformation, were inclined to think, that a young man, such as the son of Lennox, born in England, and educated in the profession of the Protestant religion, might prove, at least, a much more fit husband for their Queen, than any of her foreign and Popish suitors. Ere young Darnley had shown himself at Mary's Court; the train was artfully laid; and the high-born pair were already prepared to see each other with sentiments of love. Darnley was first presented to Mary at the Castle of Wemyss in Fife. They were mutually charmed with each other's personal appearance, and exterior accomplishments. Banquets, dancing, masques, celebrated the arrival of the Queen's handsome cousin, and favoured the progress of their mutual love. In the tenderness of courtship, Mary forgot not those political views, of which the neglect must have rendered her purpose of making Darnley her husband, insuperably disagreeable to her foreign relations and allies. Darnley was young, ignorant, inexperienced, inconsiderate, ready to sacrifice every thing to the hopes of the bewitching passion which had seized his whole heart. When Mary, amid the mutual confidence of fond and happy love, acquainted him with the nature

nature of her attachments to the Papal interests ; SECT. I.
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his love was too passionate and too gallant, not to
make him ready to sacrifice his religion and all A. D.
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his Protestant connections to her wishes. He
was very young, and without experience in
the affairs of life ; with a mind uncultivated
by skilful education, and not possessed of any ex-
traordinary native talents. He was, at this time,
little other than—if history may be permitted to
use language so meanly familiar,—*a great boy*.
Mary possessed eminent genius : she had received
many of the best benefits of a wise education :
her experience in affairs, was, for her youthful
age, uncommonly great : she was qualified to di-
rect and subdue the mind of Darnley, by the in-
fluence of her abilities, even if she had not capti-
vated and enchained his heart by the power of
her personal charms. Ere the marriage of
Mary with the Lord Darnley, had been secretly
agreed upon, between themselves ; Darnley had
already ceased to be that sure tool of the party of
Moray and Morton, which they had expected to
make him ; and was become friendly, not so much
to the Reformation, as to that religion which
was, alone, approved by Mary *.


RIZZIO, a Savoyard musician ; who,—as the
Italian artists were then wont to wander through
Europe, in search of patronage,—came into Scot-
land,

SECT. I. land, with the ambassador from the Court of
CHAP. VII.

A. D. Turin; had made himself acceptable at Mary's
1542 to Court, by his musical talents, and his personal
1580. address; and was now retained by Mary, as her

Political
views of
Mary,
connected
with her
intention
of marry-
ing Darn-
ley.

private secretary. A Catholic, a foreigner, dependent for the advancement of his fortune on the Queen alone, unavoidably admitted, from the nature of the office which he held, into the confidential intimacy of his royal mistress; Rizzio seems to have already become her only counsellor and agent, in respect to all her designs and correspondence relative to the re-establishment of the Papal interests in Scotland. His intervention was therefore employed, to detach Darnley from the Presbyterian party, by which this fortunate lover had been first introduced to her favour. Rizzio was successful. Darnley devoted himself to the political interests of Mary and her foreign allies, alone. The marriage was finally determined upon. Mary was enabled to represent it in such a light to her friends in France, and by their means, at the Court of Rome; that the approbation of those Papal Powers who took an interest in the concerns of the young Scottish Queen, was easily obtained. Pius the Fourth, who now filled the Papal throne, graciously encouraged Mary's attachment to the Catholic religion, by a splendid pecuniary present, which shipwreck had made the prize

prize of the English Earl of Northumberland : SECT. I.
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 And in the same spirit, he cheerfully granted that 
 dispensation which Mary requested, and without A. D.
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1550.
 which, she could not consistently with the laws of
 the Romish church, become the wife of her
 cousin *.

BUT, while Mary's Papal friends and allies
 were thus cordially reconciled to her purpose of
 marriage with Darnley ; those Presbyterian nobles
 and that English faction, by whom he had been,
 at the first introduced to her favourable notice,
 became irreconcilably adverse to this measure.
 They saw, that Lennox and his son, whom they
 had brought on the stage of their intrigues,
 solely for the purpose of creating rivals to the
 Hamiltons, and of providing to themselves, crea-
 tures apt to be managed as mere puppets, at their
 pleasure ; were dexterously snatched from their
 hands, by the female arts and the policy of Mary,
 and were about to be employed for the restoration
 of the Catholic religion, and for the disappoint-
 ment of all Elizabeth's wishes. Huntley had fallen
 in vain, if a new family, more illustrious than
 that of Huntley, were thus to be raised up, in
 order to renew the hopes of the Catholics. At

Views of
the Queen
of England
and the
Earl of
Moray,
concern-
ing the
marriage.

3 B 2

the

* Buchanan : Melville : Hume's History of the Douglasses :
 Keith, &c.

SECT. I. the English Court, the defection of Darnley and
 CHAP. VII. Lennox from the interests of Elizabeth and of

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Presbyterianism, gave perhaps still greater offence and alarm. If the interests of Darnley and the Queen of the Scots, the two next heirs after Elizabeth to the English Crown, were once united by their marriage, and united in favour of the Papal interests; Elizabeth, it was supposed, would then sit much more insecurely on her throne. Already did the views of the Catholics abroad, the wishes and the designs of the Papists at home, and even the not deeply disguised pretensions of Mary herself, hold Elizabeth's reign in continual danger of being disturbed by attempts to precipitate her from royalty. While the pretensions of *Mary*, and of the *son of the Lady Margaret Douglas*, to the English succession, remained distinct; while at least the one of these expectant heirs, was entirely Protestant,—and the other was in Presbyterian custody; Elizabeth and her ministers might trample upon both, or might, at least, with little difficulty, hold them at bay. Elizabeth's reasonable fears and jealousies in respect to the danger of her situation; the anxious vigilance of her minister, Cecil, perhaps too refined in its views, and pointing them occasionally to objects too remote: thus rendered her passionately hostile to the contracting of a marriage; which they had, before, thought of, but lightly, and

and had not wholly disapproved. Dudley, too, the proffered suitor of Mary, was by her preference of Darnley, proudly flighted. Every thing concurred to unite the English Court in a correspondence with the leaders of the Presbyterian party, for the end of yet preventing Mary from making Darnley her husband *.

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1580.

WHILE these altered views of a matrimonial alliance, between the Queen of the Scots, and the Lord Darnley, began to govern, in a new direction, the measures of the English Court, and of the Earl of Moray's faction, in regard to a political object of such importance: Mary, now aware of the error in policy by which she had permitted the family of Huntley to be almost exterminated by its rivals; endeavoured to rally around her, all the strength of the ancient Popish party. Ever since the bold zeal of Knox had compelled Moray and his coadjutors to throw aside that guise of duplicity, which, promising their reconversion to Popery, had been their chief recommendation to Mary: she had begun to withdraw her confidence from Moray; and to repent, that she had hitherto so implicitly adopted his counsels. The opinions of her foreign relations of the House of Guise, concerning that policy which was expressed in the measures of Moray's administration,

Measures
adopted
by Mary to
strengthen
the Popish party.

* Spottiswood: Buchanan, l. xvii.: Camden: Melville.

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stration, confirmed and exasperated her rising dislike to him. Those secret political intrigues of which Rizzio seems to have been the confidential minister; and the facility with which Darnley, in the fondness of love, consented to adopt all the views of his royal mistress; encouraged Mary to enter more boldly upon the execution of those measures to which alone, she wished success. Moray's disposition to thwart the purposes of his Queen, increased with her apparently increasing dislike to him, and served in its turn, to exasperate that dislike. When Mary recalled from exile, Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who had been before the fall of Huntley, banished, on account of an obscure and doubtful conspiracy against Moray's life; when she liberated the Lord Gordon from confinement, and restored him to the possession of the estates and honours of his father: Moray then reckoned his own ruin, and that of his party, to be determined upon; and resolved, with the aid of England, yet to avert their fate by preventing the intended marriage*.

MARY, however, in this instance, exercised an active and skilful policy, by which the opposition of her enemies was to be effectually defeated. Hitherto, she had not lost that popularity among her
OWN

* Buchanan: Melville, &c.

own subjects, which the first measures of her government, her late confidence in the Earl of Moray, and the hopes she allowed the Protestants to entertain of her conversion, had fortunately gained to her. Moray and his political associates, had by their doubtful conduct, alienated, in some degree, the minds of the more zealous reformers from their interests. Notwithstanding the late overthrow of the strength of the House of Huntley, the Papal party had become considerably more powerful, than they were, about the period of the negotiation of the late treaty of Edinburgh. The restoration of the family of Huntley, the recall of Bothwell from exile, and those other measures which Mary employed to strengthen the Catholics, failed not of their effect. So powerful were the Catholics, at this period, that the Protestants durst scarcely make any open insurrection, for fear of being overpowered by them. The hopes of Mary's future efforts in their favour, inspired them with new boldness in the cause of their religion, and with new zeal for the interests of their Queen. By all these means, Mary had at this time, in her own kingdom, an authority and influence sufficient to defend her against the intrigues of Moray and his accomplices. Although without any confidential counsellors possessing talents to direct her measures; she baffled all the endeavours of the

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Success
and pro-
gress of
those mea-
sures.

SECT. I. the Presbyterian party, to make her government
CHAP. VII. suddenly odious among her subjects. Elizabeth's

A. D. artifices of negotiation, she met by artifices not
1542 to less skilful. Even the Protestant clergy, she al-
1580. most won to her interests, by pretending a sud-
den desire to be illuminated by their instructions,
in order to her conversion. Perceiving Moray
ready to have recourse to the most desperate and
criminal measures of opposition to her intentions;
she summoned her faithful vassals to attend her in
arms; and prepared to dissipate the gathering
storm of conspiracy, by bringing its authors to
instant trial. They were now too weak to attempt
at once an open opposition in arms, too guilty to
submit with ready obedience to a judicial trial*.

In this prosperous state, therefore, of her af-
fairs, Mary ventured to give her hand to her
lover. They were married in the Queen's chapel
at Holyrood-house, on the twenty-ninth day of
July, in the year one thousand five hundred and
sixty-five. A proclamation was at the same time
emitted, conferring on Lord Darnley who had
previously been exalted to other honours, the title
of King of the Scots. Mary wore, during the cere-
mony of the marriage, the mourning-weeds of
her widowhood. But, these she immediately
changed for gay robes becoming the joy and
festivity

The mar-
riage cele-
brated.

* Eodem quos supra.

festivity of this happy occasion. For some days, the festivities usual upon similar occasions, alone occupied the Court. When the ordinary course of business was again suffered to proceed, the name of Darnley was associated with that of the Queen in every written deed *.

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1580.

MARY and her bridegroom, no doubt, expected a long course of happy years, in consequence of their nuptial union. Mary might hope to find Darnley ever constant in his love; complaisant to her wishes; never ambitious to snatch out of her hands, that authority of which it was natural for her to desire to retain at least all the substance to herself. She would hope, no doubt, to see all those difficulties which as yet opposed her accession to the English throne, smoothed away before her, in consequence of this combination of her rights with those of the most formidable among her rivals, for the succession to Elizabeth. Having procured Darnley and his father to acquiesce in her designs, in favour of the Papal party and of continental alliances; having confirmed the strength and redressed the injuries of that party; having outwitted the policy of Moray and his adherents, and brought their patriotism under suspicions; possessing a degree of influence and popularity among her own subjects, which

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the

* Buchanan; Knox: Hume: Melville, &c.

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1580.

she had never before attained:—She might naturally expect, that with all these advantages, she should soon eclipse the glory of Elizabeth, and should be able to accomplish all those great measures in favour of the Catholic religion, which the Cardinal of Lorraine, and her other relations of the House of Guise, had earnestly suggested to her.—Darnley, again, saw before him, the most ample gratification of his ambition. He would expect to see Mary retire to the duties of a wife, and leave to him the exercise of the sovereign power. He would hope to trample upon all his personal adversaries, and upon all the ancient enemies of his family. He saw in the prospect of conjugal life with a woman of Mary's personal charms and manners, the highest felicity provided for him, that love could bestow upon a young and ardent soul, formed for the enjoyment of its bliss.—In the delirium of prosperous love, they both looked in imagination to every degree of happiness that could be conceived to arise from their union. They saw none of those evils with which it was not impossible that this union might yet be attended. So vain are the hopes of the young and the inexperienced, when passion fills the heart, and exalts the imagination, and when its success still encourages new wishes and new hopes.

DISAPPOINTED

DISAPPOINTED in some meditated schemes, to seize or destroy Darnley by secret treachery; and no longer able to save themselves from judicial conviction and punishment, otherwise than by open rebellion; Moray and his adherents now took up arms. From England, they obtained a supply of money, to the amount of ten thousand pounds, for the support of their hostilities against their Sovereign. The danger of the Reformed religion, and those irregular acts of power, which the Queen had lately exercised, in violation of the rights of the Parliament, afforded plausible pretexts, to win the people to the party of the insurrection. The Hamiltons, ever jealous of the prosperity of the rival House of Lennox, were seduced to lend the sanction of their name and rights, to the guilty turbulence of Moray. While the King and Queen were at Glasgow, the insurgents shewed themselves at Paisley, with a company of a thousand horsemen: From Paisley, they passed to Hamilton, from Hamilton to Edinburgh. Alexander Areskine, lieutenant of the Castle, and the *Laird* of Craigmillar, Provost of the town, attempted in vain to prevent their entrance within the walls. Knox and the other zealots of the reformation, now cordially reconciled to Moray, since they saw him in hostile opposition to the Queen, who would not become their convert, had already laboured with

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Moray's
rebellion
defeated.

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incredible activity, to prepare the minds of the Presbyterians in Edinburgh, boldly to take part with the insurgents. The citizens were invited, but in vain, by sound of drum, and the promise of liberal pay, to join the banner of rebellion. Finding that their popularity, the money of England, and the discontents of the Presbyterians, would not enable them to support themselves against the just indignation of the Queen; they made some sudden and therefore fruitless efforts, to accomplish a reconciliation, and obtain their pardon. Even their own party was divided: for Morton and Maitland, the most cunning and the most profligate among all the leaders of the reforming cabal; gained probably by allurements of private interest; still remained at least apparently faithful to their duty. The money of England was again and again offered in vain, to procure recruits to their forces. Mary, in the mean time, with her young husband, his father Lennox, Athole, Morton, Rizzio, and all the chiefs who remained faithful to their allegiance, mustered new forces with the most active alacrity, pursued the rebels from place to place, and forced them at last to retire in doubt and fear, to the town of Dumfries, that they might thence escape upon any sudden increase of danger, into the English territories. The Queen, after surmounting some difficulties, which she found in raising adequate

adequate supplies of money for this emergency, and after mortgaging to the burghesses of Edinburgh, the superiority of the town of Leith; prepared to follow them thither. The Master of Maxwell deserting their interests; together with the Barons of Drumlanerick and Lochinvar, two other chieftains in those districts, who had at first associated with them; came to meet the Queen, while with an army of eighteen thousand men, she advanced as far as Crawford, toward Dumfries, and thence, immediately onwards to this western town. Moray, with his adherents, at her approach, hastily withdrew, by Ednam, to Carlisle in England. The rebellion was thus effectually suppressed. The Queen disbanded the greater part of her army, and returned in triumph to Edinburgh*.

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As yet Mary had derived from the measures of policy, which her marriage with Darnley had made necessary, nought but advantages and increasing authority. The energy of her personal character was never more powerfully displayed, than at this juncture. She had made an happy trial of her popularity and influence among her subjects. That party which she had called around her, and that system of measures which she had begun to adopt for the restoration of the Roman-

General
success of
Mary's po-
licy.

man-

* Lindfay, 387—391. Buchanan; Melville, &c.

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man-Catholic religion, had not as yet disappointed her hopes. Darnley was still faithful and fond. Conducting herself in a manner sufficiently discreet and skilful, in her intercourse with foreign courts; she had won all those of her continental allies who were themselves disappointed by her marriage with Darnley,—not to become her enemies, in consequence of that disappointment. Encouraged by this prosperity and success, perhaps irritated beyond the bounds of prudence by the turbulent and violently factious conduct of Knox and his creatures; perhaps yielding too inconsiderately to the indiscreet counsels of Rizzio, and the zealot Catholics who surrounded her; she now proceeded with too great rapidity to throw off that mask of moderation and tolerant gentleness, which she had hitherto studiously worn. The Presbyterian clergy, in vain, solicited the payment of that proportion out of the property of the abolished ecclesiastical establishment, which had been appropriated for their support. A *toleration* was openly proposed by the Queen and her ministers; and was naturally regarded by the zealous disciples of the Reformation, as the first step towards the new exaltation of Popery to its ancient honours. Her courtiers, to flatter her wishes, shewed themselves sufficiently

sufficiently ready to abjure the religion which they had lately adopted; and the Earls of Lennox, Athole, and Cassilis, openly attended the service of the mass in the Queen's chapel. To exalt Mary's prosperous success; Elizabeth made a show, at her Court, of disapproving that insurrection which she had excited in Scotland; and refusing to admit Moray and the other Scottish exiles into her presence, thus virtually owned the injustice of that secret and insidious interference in the national affairs of the Scots, which she had not disdained to practise. Amidst all this, the authority and the honours of David Rizzio, were continually exalted by the munificence of his Royal Mistress; till his invidious grandeur, and his weakly arrogant demeanour, began to give general and deep offence to all the Scottish nobles*.

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BUT, the raptures of successful love could not long prevail in all their ardour. Enjoyment was soon to languish, even amidst the splendour of royalty, and the triumphs of military and political success. Mary might perhaps have been capable of retaining a reasonable conjugal affection for her husband, after the first fondness of courtship and mutual passion had expired. But, Darnley, less mature in years than his Queen; without experience;

First disa-
greements
between
Henry and
Mary.

* Eisdem quos supra.

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experience; wanting prudent foresight; having been educated with that blind parental fondness which is too often destructive to its objects; without settled habits of thought or action, and only accustomed with the giddy lightness of early youth, to obey every transient humour, and every changing passion that arose in his mind, and still with airy fickleness, to desert one object of passion for another; had hardly sooner been made happy in Mary's arms, than he became indifferent to her love. Amidst the incipient, mutual coldness which, hence, took place between the royal pair; Mary delayed to add substantial authority to those exterior honours with which she had already graced her husband. Darnley became indignantly impatient to snatch the sceptre from the hands of his wife. Perhaps it might be not so much an unwillingness to bestow upon her husband, the *Crown-matrimonial*, as the fear of irritating the minds of some of her subjects, by too much haste in this measure, which withheld Mary from gratifying at once, every wish of Darnley's ambition. But, whatever were her reasons, Darnley did not fail to be passionately dissatisfied by the delay. His father, and the friends of their family, who were eager to attain under King Henry's name, the government of the kingdom, shared all his discontents. David Rizzio was still the confidential secretary of the Queen,

Queen, and was supposed to be the author of those counsels by which her husband's hopes were, for a time, thwarted. Morton and Maitland, with those other chiefs of the Presbyterian party, who had detached themselves from the interests of Moray and the other exiles; although they remained at Court, and in the exercise of their wonted employments; were, however, far from being the cordial friends of that system of measures, which it was plain that Mary had now determined to pursue. They saw, with delight, the weakness, the folly, and the discontents of Henry and his confidential friends. They applied themselves to win his confidence, and to inflame his discontents. They magnified, in their representations to him, the strength of their own party, and the exalted disinterestedness of their own views. They represented Mary as disposed, never to admit him to the exercise of substantial authority; but as inclined to detain him in her Court, as the mere puppet of her pleasure. They even hinted to his weak mind, that Rizzio received favours from the Queen, which were inconsistent with the conjugal fidelity she owed to her husband. Henry lent a ready ear to all their suggestions. They then invited him to accept their friendship, and to co-operate in measures which they proposed. The immediate acquisition of the *Crown-matrimonial*, from a

SECT. I.
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1580.

Henry
tempted
to engage
in an en-
terprise a-
gainst the
life of Riz-
zio, and
the power
of Mary.

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parliamentary act, was the reward they proffered. A conspiracy was thus quickly concerted, for the destruction of Rizzio, the procuring of the sovereign power to King Henry, the restoration of the exiles, and the disappointment of all Mary's views, in favour of the Papal religion *.

Circum-
stances
which led
to the full
concert-
ing of this
conspira-
cy.

In the mean time, France, under the vicergerent authority of Catherine di Medici, had been a scene of contentions and civil wars, in which the disagreements of religion and ambition produced effects much more fatal and important, than any that they had recently occasioned, among the Scots. The Princes of the House of Guise, on the one side, the Montmorencies and the Prince of Condé on the other, contended for the prime influence in the administration of the government; and were, the former the leaders of the Catholics; the latter, the chiefs of the Protestant or Huguenot party. The Queen-regent, little attached to any principles of religion, but capable of all the bad arts of Italian policy, strove to balance the two parties against each other, in such a manner, that the authority of the Crown, and her own power, might, if possible, be exalted, or at least confirmed, by their contentions. After various intrigues,
and

* Melville's Memoirs, p. 127: Buchanan, l. xvii. p. 631. and Hume's History of the Douglasses, p. 288. 289. b. v. p. 3.

and military operations, Catherine had at last, in the treaty of Bayonne, associated her counsels, with those of Pius and of Philip, for the purpose of extirpating Calvinism, by any means, out of France, and to resist the farther progress of the Reformation, throughout Europe. The Queen of the Scots, already sufficiently friendly to the Catholic cause, was naturally to be solicited, to adopt the views of this new alliance, and to accede formally to the treaty. Ambassadors who arrived about this time, from France, to congratulate the King and the Queen of the Scots on their marriage, had it likewise in charge to negotiate, with all possible earnestness and address, the restoration of the Papal religion in Scotland, and the union of the Scottish Court with France and Spain, against Elizabeth and all who were with her attached to the same heretical and sacrilegious cause. The views of these ambassadors, and the wishes of the Courts of France and of Rome, accorded entirely with the dearest purposes of Mary's heart, and with that train of measures which she had been, for some time, endeavouring to carry into effect. It was not difficult, therefore, to persuade her to agree to whatever they demanded. But, although they brought to Henry, as well as to Mary, some complimentary honours, he was not now to be

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won to become the votary of the Catholic cause.

That charm was dissolved, which had but late-

ly allured him to its interests. Indifference be-

tween him and his Queen had been already

aggravated to mutual quarrel and disgust. En-

snared in the toils of Morton and his associates,

he was no longer disposed to seek from love,

but from rudeness, conspiracy, and violence, that

power for which he sighed. That Mary favoured

the Catholic cause, was now sufficient to make

him its foe. While the King and the Queen,

with the weakness of mutual lovers, and of

young, inexperienced persons, continually irri-

tated each other's tempers, by petty acts of

reciprocal provocation; politicians were ready

around them, to inflame offence to irreconcil-

able resentment, for the base purpose of ad-

vancing their own selfish views. The new jea-

lousies which were excited among the Presbyte-

rians, when they beheld the French ambassadors

in the Scottish Court, furnished to the weak

mind of Henry, a new argument, to induce

him to seek aggrandisement to himself, by the

humiliation and the disgrace of his Queen.

Moray and his fellow-exiles, continued to corre-

spond with the Presbyterian party in Scotland;

and particularly, even with Maitland and Mor-

ton, by whom they had been, for a time, de-

ferted. *Their* interests were the chief objects

which

which Morton and his associates now pretended a desire to promote, in the conspiracy in which they soon entangled Henry. Moray himself became a party in this conspiracy. Oaths and engagements were mutually entered into, between the King on the one hand, and these Protestant chiefs on the other, by which *they* promised to snatch the reins of government out of the hands of his wife, and to consign them to *his*; while *he*, on the other hand, engaged to procure the restoration of Moray, and the other exiles, to their country, and to all their former possessions and honours. The head of Rizzio was devoted for the sacrifice of this reconciliation. Odious to the Scottish nobles in general, as an upstart stranger, who daringly vied with their greatness, and intercepted from them the bounties of their Queen; Rizzio was doubly hated by the Presbyterians, as being a Papist, and the agent and counsellor of all Mary's designs in favour of the Papal religion. The dark policy of Morton and Maitland, had easily contrived to make the Savoyard an object of vain jealousy to the weak, boyish mind of the King: And Henry was taught to believe, that Mary, even while advanced in her pregnancy, had been capable of the abandoned profligacy of receiving to her adulterous embraces, an ugly old man, whose personal appearance was
 very

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SECT. I. very far from being formed to please a woman's
 CRAP. VII. eye. He was not less persuaded to regard Rizzio,

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lately his bosom-friend, as the author of those counsels by which Mary was withheld from conferring those royal honours to which he aspired. Mary was not unwilling to irritate, by such jealousies, the indifference of her husband's love. Rizzio, unable to bear, with moderation of mind, the favour which Mary shewed him, treated even the King with arrogance and scorn. This was enough to make Henry enter into any measure, however rash and violent, against a man whom he viewed, as at once the usurper of his authority, and the defiler of his bed*.

The con-
 spiracy
 carried in-
 to effect.

No long time was suffered to intervene between the concerting and the actual accomplishment of this conspiracy. Morton, Maitland, and Moray although absent, were its leaders. But, beside Henry himself, Ruthven and Lindsay, eminently zealous chiefs among the Presbyterians, and at the same time related in no very remote affinity or consanguinity to Henry, eagerly associated themselves in this daring design. When all was ready for striking the meditated blow; Morton and Lindsay, on the evening of the ninth day of March, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-six, entered the court of the palace,

1566.

* Melville : Knox : Keith : Buchanan : Davile, &c.

palace, with about one hundred and sixty armed men; while several hundreds more, also in arms, surrounded it on all sides. The Queen then sat at supper, with David Rizzio, and a few other persons in her company. Henry entering the palace, advanced to his wife's apartment. Ruthven, but newly recovered from a dangerous illness, clad in complete steel, looking like some ghastly avenger arisen from the dead, closely followed Henry's steps. Four assassins of meaner note, accompanied him. In a voice of which the very tone spake death to the heart of Rizzio, Ruthven called on the shrinking Savoyard, to get himself out from the royal presence, in which he was utterly unworthy to appear. While terror and confusion pervaded the whole apartment; while astonishment, fear, and indignation, overpowered and convulsed the Queen; while Henry strove to soothe and to restrain her; while Rizzio caught by her robes, to protect him from the weapons which already threatened his bosom; this wretched victim was deeply wounded by George Douglas, with Henry's dagger, was dragged, screaming, forth from the room, was dispatched and almost hacked piecemeal, by no fewer than fifty-six wounds, inflicted by the other conspirators, who rushed upon him with all the wild, brutal, and blood-thirsty rage of

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SECT. I. of a pack of dogs, furiously tearing in pieces
CHAP. VII. the stag which they have at last run down*.

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Conse-
quences of
Rizzio's
murder.

Rizzio, the upstart rival of the Scottish nobles in their Sovereign's favour, the unworthy object of Henry's jealousy, the momentary organ of Mary's correspondence with the Catholic Courts abroad, was, thus, by a terrible and sudden blow, cut off. The purposes of Mary in favour of the ancient religion, and those views of policy which had been joined with love, in exciting her to make herself the wife of Darnley, were to be in consequence of this event, for ever disappointed. Athole, Huntley, Bothwell, and the other chiefs of the Catholic party, were by this enterprize, disarmed for a time of all their authority, and humbled equally with Mary herself. Mary was made the captive of the rebels whom she had lately driven out of her kingdom, and of that Presbyterian party whose bands she had formerly burst asunder, and whose toils she might perhaps fancy that she had almost crushed for ever. But Henry, and he alone, was to be disappointed of the advantages which he had expected to derive from this enterprize, and was fatally to suffer, as the victim for its guilt.

AFTER

* Eodem quos supra.

AFTER the murder of Rizzio, the conspirators remained masters of the palace, and of the person of the Queen. Those nobles of the adverse party, who had been about her in the palace, were without personal injury dismissed. Henry was made to emit a proclamation, by which the expected meeting of the parliament, was, for an indefinite time, prorogued; and the nobles and other freeholders, who had already resorted to Edinburgh, were commanded to depart to their respective houses. On the evening immediately subsequent to that of the conspiracy, the exiles arrived in Edinburgh; were presented to the King and the Queen; were graciously received,—especially by Mary; were, with the assassins of Rizzio, easily gratified with the promise of an ample pardon, and of restoration to all their wonted honours. Mary, seeing herself in the hands of her enemies, disdained not to practise all the artifices of deceit and insinuation which were fit even to persuade the most crafty courtiers, that her mind might be entirely reconciled to her fate. Henry, although a mere tool of mischief, in the hands of the bad people about him, now fancied, that all had been done chiefly for the sake of his exaltation, and that he was to be henceforth the unquestioned, unresisted master of the kingdom. In the pride of imaginary success and greatness, his heart was soften-

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First progress of events.

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ed to feel the emotions of pity. With the inconsiderate levity of a weak and childish mind, he began almost to wish, that the rash deed were yet undone, even at the expence of all which he supposed that he had gained by its perpetration. Far different were the sentiments of Morton, Maitland, and Moray. Their only care was, how best to confirm the interests of the Reformation, and to aggrandise themselves, even at the expence of the power, the happiness, and perhaps the very lives of the royal pair*.

Mary es-
capes to
Dunbar.

IN these unfortunate circumstances, and while such were the views and relative situations of those around her, Mary addressed herself first to her brother, and to her husband. On Moray's soul, she could not hope, by any arts of conciliation, to make an impression sufficient to seduce him at once from his engagements to his party. Henry was, in the present temper of his mind, more easily to be moved by the tears, and the distresses of his wife. In the concerting of the conspiracy, Henry had been made to enter into engagements by which all its guilt was to be attributed to him. He was now in haste to make expiation. Mary pathetically represented to him, that his interests and hers were now too closely interwoven together, to be ever detached asunder:

* Knox: Melville: Keith, &c.

And Henry was easily persuaded to believe, that Mary had never admitted Rizzio to a too familiar and confidential intercourse with her, had never regarded himself with indifference or with the resentment of slighted love, had never been in any degree unwilling to resign to him all that authority which he aspired to possess, as her lord. His blind credulity was even won to believe, that, after all that had passed, Mary's heart might, yet, be fondly reconciled to him, as if this had been but one of those lover's quarrels, by which the ardour of love is only augmented and inflamed. Mary, while she thus caressed and deceived her husband, failed not to hold a secret correspondence with Bothwell, Huntley, and the other chiefs of the defeated party, who had gone to raise their vassals and dependents, in arms. In vain did his fellow-conspirators warn Henry to beware of listening to the persuasions and seducements of the Queen. Within less than three days after the murder of Rizzio, and the seizure of Mary's person; her husband was, by her artifices, won to her side; even Morton and his accomplices, were so far outwitted. that they consented to dismiss the guards whom they had placed around her person; at midnight, she secretly escaped out of the palace, taking with her, only the King, and a very few attendants; and ere the faction of

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SECT. I. Moray, Morton, and the Presbyterians, were
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— aware of her escape, she had reached in safety,
A. D. the castle of Dunbar*.

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Mary
humbles
her ene-
mies.

It was quickly known to all her own adherents, and to all the Popish party, that the Queen had made her escape, and that Henry had deserted his accomplices. Address so admirable in so young a woman, amid circumstances of such difficulty, tended to enliven the loyalty of all her friends. Bothwell instantly joined her at Dunbar, with a force which left her little to fear from the pursuit of the faction, out of whose hands she had escaped. The Earls of Athole and Caithness, the Earl Marshal, the Lords Hume and Yester, with their followers, speedily repaired to augment the force which Bothwell had brought. Within a few days, Mary saw an army of no fewer than eight thousand men ready to defend her safety, and to execute her commands. Those in whose toils she was so lately entangled, became now her suppliants. Lord Sempill was sent to intreat her pardon of their late audacious crime: But, his embassy was flighted. Astonished by the ability with which Mary had accomplished her escape, and by the promptitude with which an army so powerful had assembled around her,

Moray

* Melville: Knox: Buchanan: Keith, &c.

Moray and Morton could make no preparation sufficiently speedy, to resist those measures of punishment with which their injured and indignant Queen now threatened to overwhelm them. Mary, whose resentment was to be appeased by no hypocritical pretences of concession, quickly advanced from Dunbar, to surprise and seize them in Edinburgh. Henry was carried about with her, as a pageant of her triumph, not with the honour and the confidence which he might have deserved, as her husband. In vain did Henry, by a declaration before the Privy Council, endeavour to exculpate himself from all concern in the guilt of Rizzio's slaughter. He was, by this act of mean falsity, only humbled and disgraced in the eyes of the world, not vindicated in the estimation of his Queen. Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, and Lindsay, the leaders in the late conspiracy, made their escape out of Edinburgh, while Mary approached,—and sought refuge in England. The hopes of winning Moray to forsake that party, of which he had so long been accounted the head, induced his sister to seal his pardon. Nor was Moray himself more averse, upon this occasion, from abandoning, at least ostensibly, the cause of Morton and Maitland, than they had lately been from forsaking his interests, when he was driven into exile. Even the undaunted Knox thought

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SECT. I. it prudent, at this time, to retire from Edinburgh,
CHAP. VII. into Ayrshire. The royal authority, the authori-

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ty, not of Henry, but of Mary, was thus suddenly restored in Edinburgh, with greater energy than ever. All those who had been privy to the late conspiracy, were now much more eager to deny all concern in it, than they had lately been to hurry it into act. Huntley, Bothwell, and their associates, were now all-powerful at Court*.

Her unre-
lenting re-
sentment
against her
husband.

IT must be owned, that, on this occasion, Mary did not use her advantages with due moderation. She carried too far, her resentment for her husband's suspicions against her honour, and for his attempts to abridge her power. He was already aware, that he had done unwisely in assisting her to escape out of the hands of his accomplices, in the assassination of Rizzio. But, the fatal moment of his good fortune had passed. It was no longer possible for him to renew the conspiracy, or again to muster around him those accomplices whom he had weakly betrayed. Although excluded even from all shew of power, although treated with all the flights that could be accumulated upon even an inferior courtier in disgrace, he still remained with the Queen, and still endeavoured, by the mediation of Sir James Melville, to prevail with her, yet to restore to him,

* Melville, p. 132 : Buchanan, l. xvii. *sub fine*.

him, all her wonted confidence and love. From SECT. I.
CHAP. VII. Edinburgh, he followed her to Stirling, from A. D.
1542 to
1580. Stirling to Alloa, out of Alloa she returned back to Edinburgh. Melville earnestly continued his conciliatory offices between the royal pair, till Mary herself angrily forbade his farther interposition. The very idea of her husband having but dared to engage in that daring enterprize, which had been perpetrated against her authority, seems to have, from time to time, renewed in her breast, the most indignant resentment. Her pregnancy, now very nearly advanced to the period of child-birth, excluded that tender dalliance which might perhaps have favoured the reconciliation of this quarrel of conjugal love. Bothwell, Huntley, and the other nobles of their party, who were now her confidential counsellors, were still at hand to persuade her, that neither her life nor authority could ever again be secure, if Henry were once more restored to her confidence. They were ready to listen to all her complaints, and still to exasperate, by a thousand artful insinuations, her resentment and her sorrow. Perhaps Moray might have had influence, sufficient to effect something of a reconciliation, between Mary and Henry. But, Henry had already deceived him, and had been won to counteract his views: And Moray would not again expose

SECT. I. expose himself to similar danger, by again making a common cause with the unfortunate King.
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Had Henry possessed any potent family-interest, he might yet perhaps have been able to command respect. But, his father was a man of mean talents, who had spent in France and in England almost all the former part of his life; and therefore wanted influence and popularity among the Scots. His other relations had been his accomplices in the murder of Rizzio, and had been deserted by him. Henry alone, was destitute of any resources for support and protection against the odium and revenge of the late conspiracy: And he therefore was to suffer the most severely for its guilt. All parties had been by his weakness and levity betrayed; And there was none that could, in his present situation, derive any material advantage from espousing his cause against the insults and the ill-offices of the rest. Mary, in the mean time, retired into the castle of Edinburgh; and was there, on the nineteenth day of June, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-six, delivered of her son, who, in consequence of her errors, was to be, even in infancy, exalted to sit upon her throne*.

WHILE

* Melville: Keith: Knox, &c.

WHILE these events passed in Scotland, Elizabeth and her ministers still watched their progress with a keen and vigilant eye. Throgmorton, a man who was, in a considerable degree, attached to Mary's interests, resided in Scotland, as the ordinary ambassador of Elizabeth. Sir Robert Melville was Mary's ambassador at the English Court. Elizabeth, although she would not directly or avowedly take part in any dark machinations against the authority or the personal safety of the Queen of the Scots, was still ready to afford her secret protection to the Presbyterian faction in Scotland, upon every emergency on which the failure of their enterprises appeared to bring them into danger. Moray and his accomplices in the former insurrection, had been driven with feigned indignation from her presence, when they dared to present themselves openly in her Court; but, had been secretly supported and encouraged with many proofs of her approbation and favour. Morton and his confederates in the slaughter of Rizzio, now found in England a ready asylum to receive them from the prosecution of their injured Sovereign's wrath. To the remonstrances made by Mary's ambassador, in her name, against this favourable reception of the Scottish rebels, Elizabeth's ministers made answer by corresponding remonstrances; bitterly complaining, that Mary

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Corre-
spondence
between
the Scot-
tish and
English
Courts.

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herself was not ashamed to afford her protection and countenance to the outlawed enemies of Elizabeth. If agents of the English Court intrigued with the Presbyterians in Scotland; Mary's emissaries were perhaps little less assiduous in plotting with the Papists, and in stirring them up against a Queen whom they regarded as an usurper. The two Queens, in the mean time, used only the language of sisterly affection and friendship, in their letters and addresses to one another; but a rancorous jealousy and rivalry inflamed their hearts. Elizabeth had far the superiority in the competition: for, Elizabeth's passions, and her whole soul, were purely, or almost purely *political*; but, Mary, with a more masterly genius for intrigue, possessed the most overpowering *private* affections and passions, in a degree of force and ardour which were sufficient to make her slight all the regards of political prudence, and even of public virtue. When Elizabeth heard that the Queen of the Scots had born a son, she burst into tears of envious sorrow, and exclaimed to her attendants; "The Queen of the Scots is the mother of a fair son; and I but a joyless and solitary maiden!" The advantages of Mary towards expelling her from her throne, were, by this event, she could not but perceive, mightily increased. Even if this might be eschewed; yet Mary and her

her progeny would, in all probability, upon Elizabeth's death, add the Crown of England to that of Scotland, and become Sovereigns of united Britain; while Elizabeth's family was to become extinct, and her name perhaps to be for ever forgotten. Yet the English Queen failed not, soon to dry up her tears, and to send to congratulate Mary on the birth of her son, in a language of satisfaction and joy, that ill accorded with the feelings of her heart. The same ambassador who had come from Scotland, to announce at the English Court the birth of the Scottish Prince, had it also in charge, to procure from Elizabeth a formal and authentic declaration of Mary's rights, to succeed her on the English throne. Elizabeth, while she pretended an earnest desire to satisfy them in this demand; was, however, moved by it, no farther, than to give orders for the commencement of specious, previous inquiries; which could be protracted for any indefinite length of time; and which, while they were continued, would prevent the necessity of her coming to an express decision. A declaration in favour of any one particular heir, would have had the effect to set up a rival to Elizabeth's authority, within her own dominions, and during her life-time. Her aversion, therefore, from gratifying Mary's wishes of this sort, is to be imputed to indispen-

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SECT. I. sible prudence, and to strong state-necessity,
CHAP. VII.

much more than to any disinterested malignity,

A. D. rankling in her heart, against the Scottish Queen.

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1560.

The same events, too, which thus served to exalt Mary's pretensions, and to make her more formidable to her royal cousin; seem to have likewise suggested to Elizabeth and her ministers, the expediency of multiplying the lines, and of thickening the meshes of their intrigues with the Presbyterian Scots, and with all the rest of Mary's adversaries*.

Continued
dissension
between
Henry and
Mary.

IN the mean time, the train of events was proceeding in Scotland, with an awful and inauspicious career. Henry, still in disgrace with his Queen, and now loaded by Moray, and indeed by all parties, with the imputation of the whole guilt of Rizzio's slaughter; possessed none of that address or ability which might have enabled him to overcome the prejudices, or to extinguish the resentment, of his Queen. Even the tenderness, which one should have supposed, that the birth of her son might have awakened in Mary's bosom, towards his father, seems not to have been at all felt by her, or to have been suppressed, as it arose, by sentiments of a far different character. During her convalescence, and when she began again to come abroad,

in

* Melville : Knox : Camden, &c.

in all the wonted splendour of her charms, Henry was not the companion of her solitude, nor the attendant and partner of her public amusements. Those who had won her gratitude by their seasonable aid, in her late danger, Bothwell, Huntley, and their confidential associates, alone possessed her ear, guided her opinions, and administered her power. The respect with which courtiers like these, would naturally address a young and lovely Queen, such as Mary, and in her peculiar circumstances, could differ but little from the fond adoration of love and courtship. Educated in the wanton Court of Catherine di Medici; being naturally of a warm and amorous temperament; having been, at no former period of her life, averse from that coquetry, which delights to toy with the solicitations of lovers, even while it means never to gratify them: Mary was quickly led to behave towards Bothwell, with manners which encouraged him to breathe in her ears, the language of love. It has been said with truth, that nothing is ever more likely to make a woman fall deeply in love with one man, than a hearty hatred for some other man whom her fancy may be naturally led to compare with him, as his rival. The indignation with which Mary still regarded her husband, was therefore highly favourable to
the

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the success of Bothwell's guilty and presumptuous passion. All endeavours to accomplish a reconciliation between Henry and Mary, were by her still indignantly rejected. Those foreign ambassadors who came to congratulate the royal pair upon the occasion of the birth of their son, saw with surprise, the indications of that dissension which reigned between them. Bedford, the ambassador of Elizabeth, shewed himself more willing to foment and inflame, than to soothe and heal it. Du Croc, the ambassador of France, was anxious to have restored between them all, the cordial fondness of the conjugal union. Henry, seeing his concessions and repentance so deceitfully and contemptuously slighted; behaved with much of the wayward fullness of a spoiled child; and by this conduct, made himself but so much the more contemptible. —Moray might have been still expected to prevent, at least a part of that dishonour which was now cast upon Henry; and *he* surely must have seen the Queen's obstinate resentment against Henry alone, to be fatally injurious to the true interests of the Crown. But, Moray was no longer equally powerful as he had been, when the treaty of Edinburgh was framed, when Mary had but newly arrived, or when he returned in triumph, from achieving the ruin of the Earl of Huntley. Mary's address and artifices

amifices about the time of her marriage, had greatly weakened the strength of the Presbyterian party. The division of Morton and Maitland from Moray, amid the train of events which followed, had, at least, not tended to augment that party's force and union. Even now, notwithstanding all Mary's errors, they were still weak, and little able, while Morton and his associates were in exile, to controul the authority of the Queen. Mary, since the enterprize against the life of Rizzio, had again softened the malignity of the Presbyterians, by a show of departing from that policy in which she seemed to have been, before, fast hastening to the total abolition of the reformed religion. The birth of her son, too, gave her new consequence, and new power with the Scottish nation, which naturally strengthened her authority against the overbearing influence of any faction. Such a combination of circumstances left Moray, at this time, unable to arrogate any high authority at Court. For the protection of his own safety; and in order, if possible, to procure the recall of Morton and the other exiles of their party; he even found it necessary to court the favour of Huntley and Bothwell, and to comply with several of their measures, which he must have equally dreaded and abhorred. To gratify Mary, and those chiefs of the Papal faction, by whom

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SECT. I. whom she was surrounded, he scrupled not
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to violate all those secret engagements with

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Henry, by which he had stipulated to devote himself to the young monarch's interests, if Henry would aid the conspiracy which was destined to bring Moray home. Henry thus deserted by Moray, was enraged against *him*, and against all the other accomplices in the conspiracy, even more than against those who were more directly the authors of his present humiliation*.

DAYS, weeks, and months, thus passed on. Mary, recovered from the illness of child-birth, again busied herself in the active government of her kingdom. The King and Queen were, by the good offices of the French ambassador, at last brought together, and even passed two nights in the same apartment in the intimacy of conjugal intercourse. But, no cordial reconciliation could be accomplished between them. Henry thought, not unreasonably, that some apology and compensation were now due to him for the deceitful resentment which Mary had nourished in her breast against him, after having accepted his services, and ~~promised~~ to pardon his error. Mary, however sensible, that it became her as possessing a superior mind, to for-
give

* Eodem quos supra.

give her husband, and to receive to the arms of reconciled affection, him whose weakness she could, by the force of more powerful talents, sway and manage at her pleasure ; yet suffered an implacable resentment still to rankle in her heart ; and even began to indulge the first emotions of affections still more guilty. Mary was willing to be reconciled to her husband, if he would be content with an *apparent* reconciliation, if he would remain in meanness and ignominy about her Court, if he would suffer her and her favourites to triumph over him, in his very presence. Henry would agree to no reconciliation which did not establish him in all his rights, as her lord and as the master of her kingdom. They soon separated with exasperated anger. Henry, after this, attempted yet to move her by the ridiculous and puerile expedient of threatening to leave the kingdom. Mary, to divert him from his purpose, ostentatiously practised a thousand pretended endearments ; yet still obstinately refused to gratify him, in that which she knew to be the primary object of his wishes. Had Henry possessed sufficient discretion to content himself for some time, with what he could easily obtain ; and to wait a happier season for gaining whatever more of power or honour, he desired ; all might, yet, perhaps, have turned out well. But, it would not

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be. Like a wayward child, he would have all his will, or would remain sullen and dissatisfied.

When the ceremony of the baptism of his son was to be formally celebrated, it was naturally to be supposed, that the father would, on that occasion, act a very conspicuous and important part. But, whatever preparations were, by Mary's order, made for the other parts of the coming solemnity; there were none which bespoke any purpose of doing honour to Henry. It seemed, as if Mary, in the fears of rivalship, had merely used the lure of marriage, in order to draw Darnley and his father from the protection of Elizabeth, and to bring them within her own power; that she might then for ever depress them below the possibility of their rising again into competition with her own pretensions and rights. Every successive act of Henry's, but betrayed new waywardness and folly, and served to make Mary no less ashamed of her choice, than resentful of the wrongs which she believed herself to have suffered. In the mean time, Maitland, and within no long period after, Morton, and the rest of the surviving accomplices in the conspiracy that destroyed Rizzio, obtained their pardon, and were recalled from exile. And still as every one of them returned to the Court; they strove to exculpate themselves, and to punish Henry's weak defection at the critical

cal moment when he suffered Mary to escape out of their hands ;—by loading him alone, in their representations to the Queen, with all the guilt of Rizzio's slaughter. Bothwell, and that Papal party of which he was now the chief, had the merit of facilitating, by intercession with the Queen, the restoration of all those exiles : And the smallest return which could be made, was for the humbled faction to with-hold themselves, at least for a time, from traversing the intrigues of Bothwell, and from thwarting the policy of Mary. Bothwell, more mature in years than Henry, although still in the very prime of life ; was ever near to Mary's person ; and was continually displaying a devotedness to her service, an ability for the promoting of her designs, a strength of family-interest, and a superior man- liness, and winning assiduity of manners,—such as could not but shew very advantageously, in comparison with the weakness, the caprice, and the childish pettishness of her husband. From being a favourite, while her husband was in disgrace, Bothwell easily made his way to a reciprocity of guilty secrets with Mary. She soon began to treat him with an open indecorum of kindness, perfectly opposite to that contempt and aversion which she, at this time, exercised towards Henry. Bothwell was her lieutenant on the eastern marches ; and when the turbu-

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Her a-
mours
with Both-
well.

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Baptism
of the
Prince.

lent borderers resisted him in his attempts to controul their licence, by the arm of justice; Mary fondly hastened, at the first notice, to share his danger, and to enforce his commands. A sudden illness, with which she was affected at Jedburgh, alarmed her with the near prospect of death; yet, without reconciling her affections to her husband. Recovered from this illness; she, for a while, appeared to languish in that gloomy melancholy, which is apt to overcast the temper of the mind, when we hesitate between our duty and the seeming advantages of some hainous crime. The period for the baptism of the Prince, at last arrived. On the seventeenth day of December, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-six, it was pompously celebrated in the chapel of the Castle of Stirling, after the Roman-Catholic ritual. The representatives of the Queen of England, of the Duke of Savoy, of the King of France, assisted as sponsors. Charles James, James Charles, were the names given to the infant: And he was immediately proclaimed Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothsay, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew*.

Progress
of Mary's
fortunes.

In the mean time, the train which events now took, both in Scotland and in England, was so favourable to the interests of Mary; that, with

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* Keith : Melville : Spottiswood, &c.

a very little less of predilection for the religion of her ancestors, with a mind even but a very little less disposed to yield to the delusion of an unlawful passion; she might very quickly have fixed herself in a firm superiority to all the artifices of Elizabeth. In England, the intrigues of the Catholics, and even the endeavours of the most disinterestedly patriotic among the Protestants, gave occasion to a motion in the Parliament, to address the Queen for the purpose of persuading her to settle, in a manner consistent with the nation's wishes, the order of the succession to the Crown: And it was universally desired, that this order should be so fixed, as to call Mary and her son to the throne, next after her envious cousin. The Reformers, although jealous of her intentions, and exceedingly enraged that she should have hitherto resisted all their efforts to convert her from Popery; yet, weak as they were, by the late divisions and exile of their leaders, could not oppose any insurmountable force, even of popularity and of opinion, to thwart her measures. The birth of her son had contributed more to confirm her authority, than all that her own and her husband's misconduct had hitherto done to impair it. But, the too familiar favour which she shewed to Bothwell; her restoration of the Archbishop of St Andrew's,

to

SECT. I.
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1547 to
1589.

SECT. I. to his ancient jurisdiction, at Bothwell's request;
 CHAP. VII.

and that generally unpopular tenor of conduct, which she now, in the most inconsiderate manner, pursued; were soon to make all her advantages of fortune and of talents alike unavailing to her*.

A. D.
 1542 to
 1580.

She affects
 extraordinary
 tenderness for
 Henry.

BOTHWELL was the leader of the Papistical party in the Scottish Court, the prime minister of Mary's power, and the favourite attendant, whose tender gallantries were openly admitted about her person. He had a young wife, the sister of the Earl of Huntley. But, the claims of such a Queen as Mary were, no doubt, to be preferred to those of his wife. And besides, he was not yet publicly accused of any guilty commerce with the Queen. Mary, while her amour with Bothwell advanced, put on, from time to time, the semblance of returning tenderness for her husband. But, having experienced, when it was too late, that she had deceived him by a shew of unreal fondness at the time of Rizzio's slaughter, Henry was no longer to be easily imposed upon, by empty professions and caresses. It should seem, that still, as she deviated farther from the observance of conjugal fidelity, she became so much the more anxious to exhibit the appearance of an entire reconciliation to her

* Melville: Knox, &c.

her lord. But, love and duty cannot well be counterfeited: The excessive fondness which hypocrisy affects, is sufficient to betray the fraud. Besides, Henry was hardly to be won to believe his Queen sincere; unless she would immediately confer on him those honours, and that power, which he thought due to him, as her husband; and would regulate her Court in a manner agreeable to his wishes. And yet so natural is it to the human mind, to yield to the assiduities of kindness, even when the sincerity of that kindness is suspected; that Henry was, by degrees, won to deliver himself, as it were, into Mary's hands, and to live again with her, in an intimate intercourse, without precaution. No party was attached to him. There was none to warn him of any danger, with which he might be threatened. Had those who disliked the Queen and her favourites, been even willing to save him; they durst not interpose: for Henry continually betrayed all his secrets to unfaithful servants whom he kept about him, and even to his enemies themselves*.

WHILE things were in this posture, the King fell into a languishing illness, which was suspected to be the effect of a slow poison administered to him by Bothwell's directions, perhaps not without

SECT. I.
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1541-42
1580.

Henry is
enticed to
Edin-
burgh.

* Melville: Knox: Buchanan, &c.

SECT. I. out the privity of Mary herself. She pretended
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1542 to
1550.

to watch fondly over him during his illness; and on pretence of this fondness, persuaded him to accompany her from Glasgow or its neighbourhood, where he then was, to Edinburgh, where it was requisite that she should, at this time, principally reside. He yielded to her persuasion. Bothwell, and Bothwell's friends, were still the only persons who enjoyed her favour; still surrounded her person; still shared and continued to inflame all her aversion for the King. Moray, Maitland, and Morton, acted but a secondary and inferior part at Court, and in the administration of the government. They hated Henry, because he had betrayed them, had occasioned the disappointment of their hopes, and had indeed made himself indirectly the author of much of their present humiliation. But, his influence and his personal abilities were far too contemptible in their eyes, to leave it possible for them to regard him with any passionate sentiments of fear or vengeance. Save only the Queen herself and Bothwell, all else, who were in the Court, felt, in regard to the King, only as politicians. Henry was, in these circumstances, sent to lodge at a house belonging to the provostry of the Church of St Mary's in the Field; which stood on a spot that is now included within the precincts of the College of Edinburgh.

Mary

Mary, for some days, remained there with Henry; and made a shew of being deeply interested for his entire recovery. But, while she seemed to watch over him there with inexpressible fondness and anxiety: she scrupled not to share, at intervals, at her palace of Holyroodhouse, in gay and festive amusements, which could hardly have been agreeable to a tenderly affectionate wife, while the health and life of her husband were in danger. She had slept for two nights in the same house where Henry now lay; and in an apartment immediately beneath his. But, on the evening of the ninth of February, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-seven, she left that house, about eleven o'clock; and went to be present at a masque, at Holyroodhouse. About two o'clock in the ensuing morning, the house in which she had left the King, was blown up with a sudden explosion, by gun-powder; alarming the inhabitants of the adjacent town to a great distance. When the effects of so awful a catastrophe, could be examined by those whom the noise of the explosion attracted thither; they perceived the edifice in a mass of ruins; yet, to their extreme astonishment, found the body of the King, and of his servant, who usually slept in his apartment, lying in the adjoining field, at some small distance from the house, dead and naked, but without marks of injury

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A. D.
1542 to
1560.

February
9th 1567.

SECT. I.
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A. D.
1542 to
1589.

received from fire. So very inconsiderately and clumsily had the murder of Henry been perpetrated! It was certainly the wish of the conspirators to make the conflagration of the house appear a sudden accident, arising from no human contrivance:—Yet, they destroyed it by an explosion that could not but betray their design and the means employed! It was their wish to make it seem as if Henry had perished by the explosion: Yet they did not reflect, that a body untouched by fire, could never wear the aspect of having had its life extinguished by burning*!

Character
of Henry.

It is impossible to observe, without a smile of contempt, that historians have pompously and laboriously set themselves to delineate the character, and to comment upon the conduct of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, as if he had been a man mature in years, in understanding, in his passions and his moral habits. The truth is, that he is to be viewed in no other light, than as a spoiled boy, possessing the common qualities of inexperienced, flattered, fondled youth; but as yet so much a stranger in the great scenes of civil life; that it would be unfair, earnestly to impute to him any very heinous guilt, or extravagant folly. By his father and mother, he had been educated, as it should seem, with

* Buchanan: Melville: Knox, &c.

with that foolish indulgence by which the children of the great, are, in the course of their nominal education, too generally held in the condition of absolute strangers to themselves, and to the duties of life. His first appearance at Mary's Court, is to be regarded in the same view, as the first sally of a boy grown up to a stripling, from the school, into the world. He shewed no incorrigible badness of heart, or meanness of talents: Otherwise, Moray and the other reformers would hardly have introduced him to Mary, as a man whom they wished her to take for her husband, and whom they had hopes to make the prime support of the Presbyterian cause. That extreme facility of disposition by which he was prepared to be so easily won from the Presbyterians to Mary, from Mary back again to the interests of Morton and his associates, from them back, once more to his Queen,—was nothing more than the natural levity and openness of heart, which youth always displays. Had Darnley been so fortunate as to fall under the direction of persons, honestly attached to his interests, he would probably have become, as he advanced in experience, a man of great worth, and of no mean talents. But, the greatness of his fortune exposed him, from the first, to be made the prey of the vices of others, and the victim of their sordid views of interest.

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A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1542 to
1550.

He was introduced on the Scottish scene, to be made a tool in the hands of the chiefs of the Reformation. Political designs concurred with love, in winning Mary to make him the partner of her bed: *and she also* strove to make him in politics, and in his public conduct, an instrument entirely manageable at her pleasure, and wholly subservient to those political views which she was ambitious to advance. He was detached from her by persons who *only pretended* to espouse his interests. When she allured him to betray his accomplices, she had ceased to regard him with other sentiments, than as his malignant foe. Abused, betrayed by all, he then, and not till then, became to all an object of settled detestation and contempt. Thus was he the victim in his reputation, as well as in his person, of the crimes of others, not his own. Moray, Mary, Morton, Bothwell, Rizzio, are to be regarded as the authors of those crimes and follies which historians have imputed to the character of Darnley.—In Henry's character, indeed, we can perceive somewhat of the fickleness and imbecillity of his father: And it is true, that the character of the son is very generally more or less like to that of his parents; a likeness not derived by descent, but caught by insensible imitation. An education conducted with foolish fondness, had done somewhat more,

to spoil his character. But, after all this, it was certainly probable at the time when he first visited the Scottish Court; nay, even at his death; that, he might have become a prince of sufficient wisdom, and manly vigour of mind, if he had been spared to greater maturity of years.—Historians have condemned him with the same solemnity and asperity, as if those errors of conduct into which he fell between the ages of seventeen years and twenty-one, had been committed, rather between the ages of forty-five and fifty years. They have forgotten, that when he was cut off by a violent death, those habits of thought and action were not yet formed, which would most probably have directed his conduct in the course of lengthened life. They have forgotten that he was good, and even not imprudent, wherever he was not outwitted and deceived by persons more crafty and more experienced than himself.

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1542 to
1580.

At the palace of Holyroodhouse, the news of the tragical end of Henry was received with an affectation of astonishment, indignation, and grief. Mary retired, without delay, to the castle, and there, amidst the ceremonial formalities of widowed sorrow, awaited the effects which so extraordinary an event might produce upon the

Behaviour
of Mary
and Both-
well, after
the murder.

SECT. I. the minds of the nation. The funeral of the
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

murdered Prince was celebrated under the direction of Bothwell, with a haste, and a privacy, which denied to his remains, almost every royal honour. Since it was vain to dissemble, that he had perished by conspiracy and violence; a proclamation was, by the Queen's command, issued, offering a high reward to whosoever should bring information and evidence to detect the authors of a crime so execrable. But, this pretended wish to discover the guilty, was, by the general sentiments of the people, accounted insincere: For, while their common cry already named Bothwell as the murderer; yet, none came forward to accuse him, and to claim the proffered reward*.

Emotions
felt thro'
thenation,
and by the
Earl of
Lennox.

YET, the voice of general suspicion and indignation was not thus to be suppressed. Papers, accusing Bothwell of the guilty deed, and naming his accomplices, were exposed to general observation, in the most public places of the city. The name of Mary was joined with that of Bothwell, under the imputation of the crime. Paintings, rudely representing the act of the murder, in a manner that spoke to the feelings, with a power more impressive than that of

* Knox: Buchanan, &c.

of words, were, in a like manner, publicly exhibited. Voices, in the darkness of the night, were heard to imitate the hollow tones of a messenger from the regions of the dead, and to call for vengeance on the heads of Bothwell, and of the Queen. A general ferment soon pervaded the whole nation. All the worthy and the good of every denomination, found themselves interested to demand an inquiry into the circumstances of a crime so nefarious, and perpetrated upon one of the two principal persons in the kingdom. The examinations, the pursuits, and whatever other steps Bothwell and his creatures pretended to take for the purpose of detecting and punishing the regicides, were conducted in a manner which tended much more to irritate than to satisfy and allay suspicion. None of the distinguished nobles of any party, were, indeed, so much interested in the fate of the murdered Prince, or in the fortunes and general welfare of the family of Lennox, as to be willing to take, in opposition to Bothwell's bold activity and power, an eager part in bringing the murderers to justice. But, a father could not, unmoved, see his son thus unfortunately perish. Lennox, although weak and timid, was excited to expostulate with Mary, to bring an open accusation against Bothwell,

SECT. I.
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I. well, and to demand a public trial for the in-
 CHAP. VII. vestigation of this proud Earl's guilt*.

A. D.
 1543 to
 1580.

Prepara-
 tions for
 the trial of
 Bothwell.

THE demand of the Earl of Lennox, could not be, by his daughter-in-law, eluded or refused. After an attempt to persuade him to agree to delay the trial till the national Parliament could be assembled; she consented to hasten the necessary proceedings, in compliance with his wishes. Bothwell, when he saw that an inquiry was not to be avoided, made as if a trial were what he rather courted than feared. Huntley and Athole, the leaders of the one faction, with Moray, Morton, and Maitland, the heads of the other, were, all, persons who lost nothing by the murder of the King, and were therefore not at all interested to avenge his cause. To the Presbyterian chiefs, especially, Bothwell had lately been the author of so many favours, and Henry had given so much cause of offence, that they could have no reason, in common policy, to avenge the former by attempting to achieve the overthrow of the latter. As possessing a spacious earldom, as Lord-lieutenant of the Eastern marches, as the favourite and prime-minister of the Queen, as the head of the Catholic party; Bothwell was in possession of a degree of power, which Moray and Mor-

ton

* Eosdem quos supra.

ton might hope to overthrow. In the only two instances in which the leaders of the Reformers had dared to oppose the Queen, they had found her talents, her address, her popularity, easily sufficient to triumph over their opposition. Nothing therefore but public indignation stood forth to encourage and assist the revenge of Lennox. To strengthen the hands of Bothwell, Mary procured the Earl of Marre to resign to him the command of the castle of Edinburgh, even at no less a price than that of intrusting to Marre, the custody of the person of her infant son. All those nobles whom Bothwell or Mary feared, had only to name those terms on which they would support Bothwell, in order to obtain them. It was not difficult to persuade a body of men, of whom even the best was actuated by no better principles than cold political passions, and views of self-interest, to stand aloof from the opening contest between Lennox—and Bothwell the suspected murderer of his son*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1542 to
1560.

LENNOX had demanded an early day for the trial; partly because his indignant and sorrowful feelings would not brook the tedium of a delay, till the Parliament should assemble; in part because he suspected, that the interme-

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3 I

diate

* Melville: Buchanan, &c.

SECT. I.
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A. D.
1542 to
1560.

1567.

Trial and
acquittal
of Both-
well.

diat time might enable Bothwell so to strengthen himself, as that he might then bid defiance to justice. But, Bothwell already possessed that power, which his adversary wished to preclude him from acquiring. Secure of acquittal, he demanded an early trial with the same apparent impatience as his accuser. A meeting of the Queen's Privy Council, held on the twenty-eighth day of March, appointed the twelfth of April to be the day of the trial. Bothwell, although the person accused, was permitted to assist, as a counsellor, in the regulation of a measure in which he was to be subjected to the examination of justice, as a criminal. Lennox, summoned to come forward, on the appointed day, and exhibit the proofs of his accusation, was quickly aware, that this extraordinary haste augured at least as ill for him, as that evasive delay of which he had before complained. It was necessary to provide powerful friends, and a great force of armed vassals, no less than to prepare the evidence by which he meant to prove the imputed guilt. But, when Lennox looked around him, for friends to support his cause, he saw himself to stand solitary and friendless, as if in a strange land. The Hamiltons, the near relations to his house, were also its rivals in the hopes of the royal succession, and rejoiced to see those advantages blasted,

blasted, by which their kinsmen of the family of Lennox had been raised to a proud superiority above themselves. It was vain to expect, that a sense of honour and of justice, should draw Moray and Morton to espouse the cause of a person whom they despised and hated, in opposition to the Queen and Bothwell, to whose interests they had lately attached themselves, and whom they could not yet hope to overthrow. Even the vassals on Lennox's own domains, were far from being sufficiently ready to support a master whose long absence at a foreign Court had, in a great measure, estranged their affections from his person. With considerations of prudence, a wavering timidity, natural to his character, also concurred: And he began to dread, that if he should, by appearing in Edinburgh to prosecute the trial, put himself within the power of his enemies; violence not less daring than that by which his son had perished, might be employed to interrupt for ever all the efforts of his revenge. His fears and anxieties were enhanced, when he learned, that every means had been employed to deter those by whom the first cry of Bothwell's guilt had been raised, from persisting in their evidence; and that James Moray, brother to the Baron of Tullibairden, had already been, on this sole account, proscribed as a traitor. What, indeed,

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1580.

must have been his emotions, when he learned, that his widowed daughter-in-law still continued to intrust with the prime administration of her power, to admit to familiar access about her person, to countenance with every degree of favour, that could tend to increase his credit,—the man who was loudly accused of her husband's murder, who was known to have been his enemy, whom no judicial sentence had as yet acquitted, on whom her father-in-law had, in all the anguish of indignation and sorrow, demanded justice? It could be nothing but the mad effrontery of vice, it was impossible that it should be the serene confidence of innocence, which directed Mary in this plan of conduct. However hopeless of redress, and of just vengeance, Lennox advanced from his castle in an islet of Lochlomond, as far as to Stirling, on his way to prosecute Bothwell's trial. All the disinterested populace, and a very great proportion of the Presbyterians with their clergy, were indeed still earnest in their clamours for vengeance upon the murderer: And had they not been more warmly attached to Moray and Morton, the heads of their party, than to truth and justice, Lennox might, with their aid, have made the guilty tremble. But, amidst their present partialities and party-connections, from them there could be no effectual support expected.

pected. At Stirling, therefore, Lennox halted, yielded to the persuasions of his friends, deter-
 mined not to trust himself in the hands of his enemies; wrote to Mary to demand a delay of the trial,—to Elizabeth, to complain, that it was prematurely hastened out of guilty favour to the criminal, authorised one of his servants to repair to Edinburgh, and to protest, in his name, against its immediate prosecution,—and thus remained at a convenient distance, to await the event. His excuses and demands for delay, were, with Mary and her Council, wholly unavailing. Elizabeth, however willing to interpose, received not the letters of Lennox, till it was too late for her interposition to anticipate the trial which he deprecated. On the appointed day, the Justiciary Court assembled. Bothwell was escorted through the streets of the city, and to the bar, by a numerous attendance of his friends and vassals, and even by a band of hired soldiers. Robert Cunningham, in the name of his master the Earl of Lennox, protested that the Court should not then proceed in the trial. Bothwell, although even the parade of armed retinue, with which he was surrounded, sufficiently justified the fears of his accuser, yet insisted, that the Court should no longer leave him under the reproach of unascertained guilt. Perhaps they desired not, it was most certainly,

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not

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1580.

not within their power, to gratify the demands of Lennox and of justice, in opposition to the urgency of Bothwell. To proceed to try, was, in these circumstances, to acquit him. No sooner had the jury of his peers, rejecting the excuses of Cunningham, declared themselves unable to attribute guilt to the accused, since there was no evidence produced by the accuser,—than Bothwell, to make up for what might seem to be wanting in legality to the trial, published a general challenge, provoking to single combat, whoever should henceforth dare to impute to him the crime of which he was acquitted. Lennox, as the challenger was well aware, would not meet him in single combat. None answered the defiance. The Court and Queen loaded him with congratulations and caresses, as being now happily and perfectly vindicated from a cruel and unjust charge. But, the nation at large, viewed these transactions with different eyes. Mankind in general, are, by the common principles of their nature, at all times, inclined to sympathise rather with the weaker and the suffering party, even when that party is in the wrong. In the present instance, the overbearing insolence of Bothwell's conduct, concurred with the strong suspicions universally entertained of his guilt, to make the hearts of all the Scottish populace,

populace, ardently espouse, in opposition to him, the slighted cause of Lennox, and of his murdered son *.

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A. D.
1542 to
1550.

WITHIN two days after Bothwell's acquittal, the Parliament assembled. They were barons of the Catholic party, of the partizans and adherents of Bothwell, of the personal friends of Mary, who attended in it, in the greatest numbers. The measures which came under its deliberation, and the acts which it passed, were intended chiefly to exculpate Bothwell and Mary from the imputation of having murdered the King, and to support that system of measures which the Court had, for some time, pursued. Ample gratifications were bestowed on the leaders of all parties. It is evident, that the price was thus paid for the compliance and connivance which Bothwell and Mary had already found in the achievements of their guilty career. Bothwell himself was, by the deed of this Parliament, confirmed in the possession of all those high offices which he already enjoyed. The restoration of the Earls of Huntley and Sutherland, to their forfeited estates and honours, was equally ratified. The Earls of Marre, Morton, Angus, and Caithness, were also gratified by various favours from the

* Knox : Melville : Hume of Godscroft : Buchanan, &c.

SECT. I. the Crown. All was unanimity and joy. It
 CHAP. VII. seemed as if nothing had been wanted, except
 A. D. the death of Henry, and the exaltation of Both-
 1542 to well, to make all the Scottish nobles at one
 1580. among themselves, and cordially loyal to their
 Sovereign. Bold in this general success, Mary
 and her counsellors ventured, at the same time,
 to evade the petitions and remonstrances of
 the Presbyterian clergy; and to treat their re-
 ligion as one that could, at the utmost, deserve
 little more than barely sufferance. To con-
 summate the guilt and prosperity of Bothwell,
 and at the same time the baseness of those who,
 for selfish views of private interest, made them-
 selves accessories to his guilt, there was yet
 another deed to be obtained from the leaders
 of both parties*.

Bothwell Not to be the paramour, but the husband of
 recommended by Mary, was the natural object of Bothwell's am-
 the nobles, to be the Queen's husband. bition. To Mary, it could not but seem, that
 the decent respects of life would not permit
 her to live in a state of concubinage, with
 one of her subjects. Henry had fallen in vain,
 if his death were not to make room for the
 exaltation of her new lover to the nuptial bed
 of Mary. The honours, the offices, the emo-
 luments already bestowed on Bothwell, were a
 compensation

* Eosdem quos supra.

compensation far too petty and mean for the guilty darings by which he had delivered Mary from a hated husband. They were utterly unworthy of that love with which she regarded him. If it were, as yet too much to hope for the solemn parliamentary recommendation of a marriage, to be contracted between Bothwell and Mary; a more private, yet not less powerful recommendation of this measure might be more easily obtained. The fear of Elizabeth, or a regard to what might be the judgement of foreign Courts and nations, could not have the same influence with the Scottish nobles, in a private and convivial meeting, as in their Parliamentary assembly. Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, therefore, Bothwell invited the principal nobles of whom it was composed, to a great entertainment. Several among them were, as his confidential friends, privy to the purpose with which it was made, and were prepared to assist in the accomplishment of his intention. When the company were warm with wine, and all began to speak loudly in the praise of their entertainer, Bothwell and his confidants were then ready to seize the favourable moments. The name of the murdered Henry was mentioned with contemptuous virulence: His follies, and those dissensions in which he had been made an agent, were resentfully imputed to him: His

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The Scottish nobles
advise
Mary to
marry
Bothwell.

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1560.

death was mentioned, with exultation, as lucky and seasonable. Bothwell was then applauded, as the friend of all parties, the liberal rewarder of the merits of all, the reconciler of those differences which had so long divided the Scottish nobility, the only man whose talents for business, and his favour with the Queen, made him fully equal to the future administration of the government. When all this had been heard with general approbation; it was then artfully added, that Mary desired to make him her husband; that she loved him with the most passionate ardour; that only the consent of the nobles,—of the assembly present, was wanted, to their speedy union. In company with one another, heated with wine, in the flow of conversation, and in the openness of affections which such society and conversation are apt to produce, men will agree to many things, as one flock or body, to which they would not separately and individually consent. The two parties, the Papal and the Presbyterian, were each afraid of throwing Bothwell and the Queen, into the scale of their opponents, if either of them should refuse what was now requested. Bothwell's own personal friends had already led the cry. Those whose pure loyalty or personal attachments devoted them in a particular manner to the interests of Mary herself, fancied, that the mischief

was

was too far gone, to be now prevented by any efforts of theirs. Favours already received, or sanguinely expected, had their weight with others. The timid, and those who were in a situation of dependence, were led away by the example of the bold, of the independent, and of those who had a reputation for wisdom. It had been the usual policy of the Scottish nobles to make very little difficulty in ratifying any general measure with their common consent; but, when that measure was to be executed or obeyed,—then to respect or disregard it, just as humour or interest might happen, for the moment, to persuade. Influenced by all this variety of motives; carried away by one general impulse; perhaps not without fears of what, if thwarted, a bold, flagitious man, like Bothwell, might attempt against their personal safety;—all this assembly of nobles consented with one voice, to recommend it to the Queen, to take the Earl of Bothwell for her husband. A solemn deed of this purport, was written out, and subscribed by them. To Bothwell and the Queen, this writing would naturally appear to be of the same importance, as if it had given a full parliamentary sanction to their marriage. With the nobles who subscribed it, and with the nation in general, it appears to have had little other effect, than to open their eyes upon the full

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extent of the guilt of Mary, and the ambition of her paramour, and to excite them to concert new intrigues against the favourite's success. Possessing this *recommendation*, to justify them in the eyes of foreign nations, Mary and Bothwell appear to have, from this time, thought, only of hastening their nuptial union*.

Rising op-
position to
Bothwell.

FROM the æra of this great transaction, commenced a new opposition to the daring enterprises of Bothwell, and to the rash views of the Queen. The popular voice arose still more loudly indignant against that Earl's crimes, as he seemed to advance more nearly to reap the fruits of them. Public opinion could be neither awed, nor bribed into silence. The conduct of Bothwell appeared to set all censure at defiance; since he had been able to overawe a court of justice, to outbrave the pious revenge of Lennox, to win by intrigue the whole nobles to his side, and to make himself securely master of the affections of his Queen. While the chief among the nobles indignantly withdrew from the Court, some of those who yet remained, began, with very great earnestness, to dissuade Mary from the destined marriage. News of the disapprobation with

* Anderson, vol. i. p. 89, 98. &c.

with which her recent conduct was universally viewed by foreigners; with the warm remonstrances which her secret friends in England, and those whom she most venerated in France, transmitted against her kindness to Bothwell; concurred at the same time, to enforce what was urged by her faithful servants at home. Moray, having gained whatever he could gain by favouring Bothwell, unwilling to lend his countenance farther to this minion's crimes, aware that the measure of Mary's errors and follies, was not yet so filled up as that he might drag from the throne, to a prison, and afraid lest the dark, atrocious soul of Bothwell might soon think *his* life not less necessary to be cut short, than had been that of Henry; had already chosen to retire out of a country in which he could not but foresee, that some extraordinary and tumultuous events were soon to take place. Maitland, and Sir James Melville, remaining in the Court, strove, not without incurring great danger from the wrath of Bothwell, to divert the Queen from making him her husband. The other chiefs of the Presbyterians now fomented,—while they seemed reluctantly to yield to,—the indignation with which the whole nation agreed to brand this bad man's crimes. Since Henry was no
more,

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1580.

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1542 to
1558.

more, all his weakneses and errors were forgotten; and Bothwell occupying the most obnoxious of all situations, naturally became the object of an odium which there seemed to be 'now no rival or colleague, save the Queen herself, to share with him. In these circumstances, and although possessing the bond which Bothwell had extorted from the nobles; they durst not openly proceed to celebrate their marriage. A collusive divorce from Huntley's sister, the former wife of Bothwell, was easily to be obtained by him. But, Mary durst not yet, in the face of the whole nation, and at the risk of rendering herself infamous in the eyes of all foreign princes, accept the murderer of Henry, for her second husband. The bold flagitious mind of her paramour, soon contrived an expedient for surmounting these difficulties. It was no sooner concerted between them, than they hastened to carry it into execution*.

WITHIN three days after the dissolution of the late parliament, and the subscription of the deed, by which Mary was advised to give her hand to Bothwell; the Queen set out from Edinburgh to Stirling, there to visit the infant Prince,

* Melville: Knox: Buchanan, &c.

Prince, her son. Bothwell, as Lieutenant of the Eastern Marches, had a considerable military force always ready under his command. With a thousand armed followers mounted on horseback, he intercepted Mary on her return, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow; dispersed the comparatively slender train by which she was escorted; and seizing her royal person, probably as had been before concerted between them; conducted her, *nothing loath*, with some few others of her courtiers, to the castle of Dunbar. In the castle of Dunbar, she yielded herself, under the pretence of inability to resist the violence which he offered,—to his adulterous embraces. For twelve days she remained there, forgetful of all but the present moments and the raptures of licentious love. Awakening from the delirium of guilty pleasure, they then prepared to take openly the necessary steps for their immediate matrimonial union. A suit of divorce commenced both in the Papal and the Presbyterian Courts, between Bothwell and his former Countess, was quickly brought to the desired issue. Mary was, after a decent time, conducted back by the pretended ravisher to Edinburgh; and there, together with Bothwell, for a time, took up her residence, not at Holyroodhouse, but in the castle, as a place of greater security. Soon after, however, she presented

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1543 to
1580.Bothwell
carries the
Queen to
Dunbar.

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A. D.
1542 to
1580.

fented herself before the Court of Session; declared that she was no longer involuntarily detained a prisoner by Bothwell; slightly mentioned the violence which he had done her, but dwelt with fondness on the praise of his subsequent courtesy, respect, and kindness; and expressed her sense of his services to be so grateful and so high, that she had determined not only to grant a full pardon to him and his accomplices, of their crime against her person, but even to advance him to new and more illustrious honours. An ample pardon of every crime that could be imputed to him, was therefore without delay formally granted to the fortunate Earl. He was next created Duke of Orkney. The ceremony of marriage was soon after, formally celebrated between him and Mary,—in public, according to the forms of the Protestant religion,—in private, agreeably to the ceremonial of the Romish Church. Mary resigned her person, and her power entirely into his hands. If he were without the name of King; he was, however, authorised by her fondness, to sign all public deeds, in common with herself. To confirm his power, there seemed to be little wanting, save that he should obtain into his custody, the person of the young Prince, who remained still under the faithful guardianship of Erskine, Earl of Marre. Marre's abhorrence
of

of Bothwell's character, and his faithful loyalty, in spite of every artifice and every menace, preserved the royal infant's life from being exposed to danger, in those hands by which his father's years were supposed to have been wickedly shortened*.

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1580.

BUT, what part acted Mary in all this dark train of events? Endowed with talents for business and for intrigue, which her passions alone prevented from greatly excelling those of every other female of the age; it is not to be supposed, that she could be in these present instances, entirely passive. Her disdainful hatred of her late husband, arose from slighted love, from indignant resentment of his wishes to abridge her power, from contempt for the weakness of his mental abilities. It seems probable, that her passion for Bothwell, must have been very plainly betrayed, before even that bold, flagitious Earl would dare to address her in the language of passion; for Mary was not a woman to be treated as a simpleton. A proposal of procuring a divorce between her and her husband, made by Bothwell and his associates, perhaps first suggested to Mary's mind, the idea of the happiness which she might enjoy, if for

Mary's
guilt.

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ever

* Knox: Keith: Buchanan, &c.

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1580.

ever separated from Henry. But, this way was tedious and difficult; and Mary wanted not discernment to remark all its difficulties. The atrocious mind of Bothwell, no doubt, first proposed the idea of delivering Mary from a husband whom she hated, by means more speedy and effectual than divorce. Whether the project of the murder were only hinted or were directly proposed to Mary, it was impossible, that Bothwell would ever have dared to perpetrate it, without having previously the strongest assurance, that her mind might be easily reconciled to it. Of this, he could hardly well assure himself, without having been, before, admitted to her guilty embraces, without having obtained her express consent. He well knew Mary to be fickle, deeply resentful, and possessed of talents sufficient to rescue her from being the slave of any minion whom she hated or despised. He knew, that the other nobles of her Court, whatever their pretended present attachment to his interests, would eagerly desert and drag him to destruction, if they should but once perceive him to totter in the slightest degree, in the Queen's favour. He was himself too bad a man, to trust to aught but the necessities and the bad principles of others. Besides, Mary's abilities were too great, to suffer her to be in this so important instance, hoodwinked

winked and imposed upon: Personally interested, as she herself at this time was, in all that Bothwell did, and in all that concerned him; she would be unable to refrain from watching, with the most anxious vigilance, whatever was undertaken by him, or suffered by Henry. Had she not been privy to Bothwell's crime, she would not have failed to resent it, when the voice of so many of her own subjects, and even of all Europe, loudly called for this resentment. Had she not been aware of Bothwell's guilt, the fatal end of her husband could not have failed to awaken in her bosom, for him, all her former tenderness. The measures which Bothwell employed to overawe justice, at his trial, would have enraged her as encroachments on her royal authority. The artifice by which he obtained the recommendation of the nobles, in order to persuade her to make him her husband, would have rendered her his irreconcilable foe. No considerations of delicacy would have prevented her from bringing her presumptuous subject to perish on the scaffold, as soon as she could make her escape out of his hands, after the rape at Dunbar. Mary was a woman of such talents, so much energy of mind, and so little of silly, feminine weakness, that she cannot possibly have been the mere passive means of Bothwell's ambition,

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and the victim of his crimes, to that degree to which we must believe her to have been, if we would suppose her innocent. Injured as she was at Dunbar, she would not, if innocent, have hesitated to treat the ravisher, as Chatellard, as Moray when he opposed her former marriage, as the conspirators against Rizzio, had been, by her almost implacable resentment and revenge, already treated *.

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1580.

A league
for the
punish-
ment of
Bothwell.

THE measure of the crimes of Bothwell and his mistress seemed in the eyes of almost all the Scottish nobles, to be now full. He had risen to an eminence of power and external honour, on which if he should be confirmed, he might probably crush all who were either feared or hated by him. His exultation, his furious threats, his insolence, were fitted to make almost every one who approached him, in the Queen's Court, his foe. The Queen of England, and the general voice of foreign nations, had condemned the late conduct of Mary, and had avowed their abhorrence of her paramour, with an explicit openness and decision, which seemed not only to encourage the Scottish Barons, but even indignantly to call upon them, to rise in arms, and drag an infamous murderer from the throne, and from the bed of their Sovereign.

* Eosdem quos supra.

Sovereign. That series of flagitious deeds, which Bothwell had perpetrated, had raised against him the abhorrence of all the pious and virtuous throughout Scotland, and especially among the Presbyterians, even to the utmost height. The Presbyterians had no longer aught to expect from Bothwell or from Mary, in favour of the final extirpation of that Popery which they detested; and could not, therefore, be longer disposed to wink at his vices and crimes, on account of any advantages which they might hope to derive from his administration. Bothwell's abilities, also, were, amidst all his profligacy, too considerable to leave to Morton, Maitland, and the other men of activity in business, belonging to the Presbyterian faction,—any room to expect that they should be able to make him merely a petty engine in their own hands. All the barons of this party, and even very many of their Catholic opponents, had, in indignation, retired from the Court; leaving Bothwell and Mary in comparative solitude.—In this state of affairs, a combination was quickly formed, to rise in arms against the Queen and Bothwell, and pursue this aspiring Earl to immediate destruction, in punishment of his ambitious crimes. Moray was absent in France. But the Earls of Argyle, Athole, Morton, Marre, and Glencairn; the
Lords

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1580.

SECT. I. Lords Hume, Semple, and Lindsay; Kirkaldy
CHAP. VII. of Grange, Moray of Tullibairden, Maitland

A. D. of Lethington; were the leaders in this combi-
1542 to nation. At Stirling they held a convention :
1580. And it was there the result of their delibera-
tions, to call forth, without delay, their re-
spective vassals and retainers, to muster an army,
to march against Bothwell and the Queen *.

Progress of the in-
surrection. AWARE of their purposes and movements,
Mary and her husband now endeavoured, by
proclamations, to vindicate the transactions of
her government, and by earnest declarations of
her respect for the interests of the state, and
for the welfare of the Prince, her son, to break
the force of the gathering storm, and to as-
semble around herself, an army of loyal sub-
jects, by which the enterprises of the insurgent
nobles might yet be defeated. But, Marre, who
had the custody of the Prince's person, was
among the conspirators ; and *they* might, therefore,
oppose the authority of young James's name to
that of his mother. Their troops were soon
ready in arms ; and they prepared to march,
before the Queen and Bothwell could assemble
a force sufficient to resist them. The Castle of
Edinburgh might have afforded to Mary, a se-
cure retreat, till the necessities of subsistence
should

* Spottiswood, p. 204. &c.

should have again dispersed their ill-appointed and tumultuary army. But, Sir James Balfour, whom Bothwell had made its deputy-governor, had been tampered with, by the insurgent nobles, and had lost his patron's confidence. While the confederate Lords were understood to be upon their march from Stirling to Edinburgh, Bothwell, leaving Huntley to defend the town, conducted away the Queen to the Castle of Borthwick. From Borthwick, fearful for his personal safety, he quickly fled to Dunbar, whither the Queen in disguise hastily followed him. Easily making themselves masters of Edinburgh, the nobles there emitted a proclamation, to explain the motives upon which they had taken up arms, to expose to inflamed indignation and horror, all the crimes of Bothwell, to call the whole nation to rise in arms for the purposes of punishing the murderer of Henry the father, and of preventing the murder of the young Prince, James, his son. It was more than insinuated, that, except the immediate overthrow of Bothwell, nothing else could save the Prince from being cut off by *his* artifices, in order to make way for the final exaltation of himself and his posterity to the throne. The tide of popular favour now ran high for the confederacy, and against the Queen and her husband. Lord Hume had almost made Bothwell

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SECT. I. well and Mary prisoners in Borthwick-castle.
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New partizans came continually in, to take part in prosecuting the public vengeance against that great and obnoxious criminal. While Bothwell and the Queen, not without difficulty, mustered an army of about four thousand men; and marched, perhaps with inconsiderate impatience, back from Dunbar to Gladsmuir; the nobles leaving Edinburgh, proceeded as far as Muffelburgh, to intercept the royal army on its march. It is remarkable, that the talents of Bothwell, however equal to artful and flagitious crimes, began to shrink and to betray him, when an occasion requiring extraordinary vigour, and active energy of mind, now arose. The Queen herself now found it necessary to resume the ascendancy. She advanced from Gladsmuir, with an eagerness which shewed more of spirit and activity than of prudence. A proclamation was again made public by her, in which she exculpated Bothwell from the guilt of having murdered Henry, or of holding herself in unwilling captivity; accused the nobles of rebellion, excited merely to gratify their private resentment and ambition; and reproached them as detaining the person of her son, and pretending a concern for his safety, merely in order that they might, by his means, and by such artifices, wrest the sceptre from her hands.

Could

Could she have inspired Bothwell with the confidence and the ardent courage of innocence ;
 could she have made her own followers eagerly loyal, as they once had been in her cause ; or had she but avoided meeting the confederates, till their first ardour had cooled, and till their first union had begun to break into dissension ; she might, even now, perhaps have been successful against insurrection, as she before had been *.

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1580.

NEAR Muffelburgh, the two armies, that of the Queen, and that of the confederates, found themselves so nigh to each other, that the hour of battle could not be long delayed. Bothwell, and under him, the Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, led on the royal troops : Mary herself strove to animate and inspire them all. Morton, Hume, Athole, Marre, Glencairne, and other Lords, were the leaders of the confederates. Du Croc, the French ambassador, was with the Queen, but hastened to interpose as a common friend between the two hosts. His mediation was haughtily slighted by the insurgent Lords. Their hearts boiled with resentment ; they knew their advantages ; they would listen to no terms of pacification, unless Bothwell should be first delivered into

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their

* Buchanan : Knox : Spottiswood, &c.

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their hands. Meanwhile, although posted on an eminence, on which the advantage of the ground was plainly theirs, the Queen's troops betrayed an unwillingness to engage, and a want of confidence in their chief commander, and in the justice of their cause. Bothwell strove in vain to rouse and encourage them. The Queen herself, riding through their ranks, and calling on their loyalty and valour, with a voice which, in a better cause, could hardly have failed of success; was little more fortunate than her husband, in effecting her purpose. The confederates with their followers came on, with a slow march, but with an air of awful firmness. Bothwell, to encourage the royal army, by an ostentation of valour in himself, rode forward between the two fronts, and challenged any knight of the adverse host, to decide the cause with him, in single combat. The challenge was no sooner heard, than Moray of Tullibairden, and the gallant Kirkcaldy of Grange, rushed indignant forward to accept it. When, on pretence that neither of these two was his equal in rank, he avoided fighting with either; the Lord Lindsay eagerly offered himself as an antagonist, whose rank the Earl of Bothwell could not, in reason, disdain. The Queen interposing her command, saved the recreant valour of her

her husband from being tried against Lindsay, SECT. I.
CHAP. VII. and positively forbade the combat. But, by A. D.
1542 to
1580. this time, she was reduced to such a dilemma, that she could neither give battle with hopes of success, nor make her escape. No choice remained for her, but to capitulate. Bothwell Mary, a
captive. was not ashamed to see her become the captive of her foes, without striking a blow to save her from this humiliating fate, or to save himself from the ruin which was necessarily to ensue to him. Demanding, therefore, an interview with the brave Kirkcaldy of Grange, a man whom she seems to have believed incapable of violating his plighted faith; she surrendered herself into his hands, on condition; that, dismissing Bothwell, she should again be honoured by the confederate Lords, as their Queen, and should be obliged only to govern her kingdom in a manner agreeable to their counsels. Bothwell, taking his last farewell, departed in haste, and unmolested, from the scene, with a very few followers. Mary was conducted by Kirkcaldy, to the presence of the other confederate chiefs, and within the ranks of their army. Her own forces were disbanded. As she rode on, no tongue bade "God bless her!" She heard nought but the voice of execration and reproach. Trembling at the

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angry words, and the menacing looks and gestures of the surrounding multitude, the intreat-
ed, but with little effect, the interposition of
Kirkcaldy and of Maitland, to save her from
their reproaches and threats. Wherever she
turned her eyes, their banners held out to her
view, represented—the body of her murdered
husband extended lifeless on the ground, and
before it her infant son kneeling in prayer to
heaven, and supplicating vengeance on his fa-
ther's murderers. The nobles were too much
pleased with their own success, and too indif-
ferent to whatever might be her painful feel-
ings, to interest themselves in any very ear-
nest manner, to restrain those injuries which
were now offered to her. Nor were the ex-
ulting, indignant feelings of the mob to be by
any means restrained from thus expressing them-
selves. Amidst the insolent acclamations of the
populace, she was conducted into the town of
Edinburgh, and was there lodged, not at her
own palace or in the castle, but in the provost's
house.

MARY now felt all the misery of her situa-
tion. Lately mistress of one kingdom, and
heiress apparent to another; enjoying a popu-
larity, and possessing talents for intrigue, which
were

were sufficient to secure her against all the machinations of her foes : she had suffered her guilty passions to betray her into a situation in which all her advantages seemed to be forfeited. She called on the honour, the loyalty, and the humanity of those nobles into whose hands she had confided her person ; and demanded of them, to conduct her to her palace, and to restore her to her royal authority. The populace with the usual fickleness of their passions ; began apparently to sympathise in her distress. Even of the nobles themselves, there were several who wished faithfully to perform those conditions which had been stipulated, when Mary made herself their captive. Kirkcaldy, to whose honour she had surrendered herself, abhorred every idea of the treacherous violation of plighted faith. She was therefore, in the first instance, conducted to Holyroodhouse, but still under a strong guard, and without having even any semblance of authority restored to her. Morton and those who had been formerly concerned with him in the enterprise against Rizzio, too well knew, that, if they should set her but for a moment at liberty, or should restore her to any share of her former authority ; she would not fail again to excite all her wonted activity and energy, to call her loyal subjects to her aid, and once

more

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more to frustrate whatever ambitious hopes they had conceived amidst their insurrection. They knew, that they could not be safe, if the smallest share of power or liberty should be left to her. It was, therefore, soon determined by them, to confine her a prisoner for life. No little craft and artifice were required to win those to agree to this determination, in whose breasts honour and loyalty had more power than political wisdom. But, Morton and his associates were not men to refuse to have recourse to this craft. To overcome the scruples of Kirkcaldy's honour, a letter from the Queen to Bothwell, genuine or forged, was presented to him, and was said to have been intercepted in the hands of her secret messenger. Kirkcaldy was confounded and silenced by the sight of this letter. He could no longer refuse to agree that at least, while Bothwell was alive, the Queen should be detained in strict custody. She was forthwith conveyed to the strong castle of Lochleven, and there placed in the hands of William Douglas, its governor, whose wife had been the mistress of James the Fifth, and was mother to the Earl of Moray. Kirkcaldy, still faithful to his plighted honour, was impatient to deliver the Queen from such humiliation and distress. With eager speed, therefore, he fitted out two ships, and pursued Bothwell to the

the Orkneys, to which he had already taken his flight. Bothwell narrowly escaped his pursuit, fled to Denmark, and after a series of piratical adventures, at last terminated his guilty life in extreme disgrace and wretchedness. While the generous and gallant Kirkcaldy was absent upon this enterprise; Morton and his principal associates formed themselves into a regency, under the denomination of the *Lords of the Secret Council*; set themselves to punish all the accomplices in the murder which they had rebelled to avenge; and eagerly fought, perhaps fabricated new proofs, which, by implicating Mary in the blackest crimes of Bothwell, were to justify the harshest and boldest measures they could employ against her. With them eagerly co-operated the reforming clergy, who could not obtain security for the permanent establishment of their religion, by any other means so certainly as by the ruin of the Queen. In vain did the Hamiltons, with a considerable body of the nobles who were not confidential accomplices in the plans and views of Morton, attempt to mitigate the fate of Mary, and to overawe those who prosecuted her with enmity so violent, and so self-interested. Their disunion, and their want of some presiding mind to give combination and energy

to

SECT I.
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to their efforts, soon frustrated all their attempts. In vain did Elizabeth, perhaps with some degree of sincerity, interpose, by Throgmorton her ambassador, to rescue her cousin from some part of that humiliation and those severities which Mary was now exposed to endure from her own subjects. Morton and his co-adjutors too well knew—what were Elizabeth's real sentiments in respect to Mary,—to fear that they should render the English Queen, their irreconcilable foe, even by exceeding in harshness to their own degraded Sovereign. To every application in Mary's behalf, they made answer by proclaiming her guilt, and by boasting—what strong proofs of it they had obtained. Their arts prevailed. It was at last agreed; that Mary should be compelled, to resign the Crown in favour of her son; and that the Earl of Moray should be appointed regent of the kingdom, during James's minority. Mary's consent to this arrangement, was extorted by the fears of instant death, or of perpetual imprisonment. And yet, she would perhaps have refused her subscription to the requisite deeds, when these were presented to her; if she had not been secretly encouraged by the suggestions of some of her friends, that a resignation of her power in those circumstances

cumstances of restraint in which she was then detained, could be of no legal force*.

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No sooner was Mary's resignation of the sovereign authority thus obtained, than the crown was set on the head of her infant son. The Earl of Moray returned to fill the office of regent; and after an insulting visit to his degraded sister in her confinement in Löchleven, assumed the reins of the government into his hands. A Parliament assembled, in which a majority of the principal nobles were present, and shewed as if they had been satisfied with the new settlement of public affairs. Such proofs of the guilt, as well of Mary herself, as of Bothwell, were there produced; that even those who had been the most attached to her, seemed now to find sufficient reason to abandon her cause. They of whose political conduct, religious zeal was the regulating spring, were all ardently devoted to the Earl of Moray, who was, in truth, at once, the ablest and the most honest among the nobles of their party. The late insurrection was by solemn parliamentary acts vindicated and approved. The Queen herself, and her conduct towards Bothwell, were declared to have alone occasioned all the late disturbances. Af-

Regency
of Moray.

SECT. I. ter the dissolution of the Parliament, Moray
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thus regent, proceeded to exercise the supreme power in a solemn justiciary progress throughout the kingdom. The conviction and execution of Dalglish, Powrie, Hepburn, and Hay, accomplices with Bothwell in the murder of Henry, were among the first conspicuous acts of criminal justice which the new regent exercised*.

A new
combina-
tion in fa-
vour of
Mary.

IN the mean time, the fate of Mary was not unpitied; the opinions and feelings of all the Scottish nobles were not in perfect unison with those of Moray, Morton, and the rest of their faction. The Hamiltons had for a considerable time stood aloof from all concern in the management of public affairs. It was not natural for them to favour the aggrandisement of the rival family of Lennox; and they had therefore avoided the Court during the first happy months of Mary's and Henry's love. The talents of Moray and Morton, did not leave it possible for the heads of the House of Hamilton, to maintain themselves as the leaders of the Protestant party. They could not, after all which had passed, easily set themselves at the head of the Catholics. Their alliance to the young Earl of Huntley, prevented them from interfering

* Buchanan, &c.

interfering to disturb those measures which were carried on by him and Bothwell in concert.

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But, it was not their interest to suffer Mary to be miserably cut off by her own subjects. If

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divorced from Bothwell, she might yet become the wife of Lord Claud Hamilton, a younger son of the Duke of Châtellherault, and a youth of great promise. Interest and honour, now, concurred to invite them to espouse the cause of Mary. Under their auspices, all who abhorred the principles of the Presbyterians; who dreaded the imposing superiority of Moray's talents; who were fearful lest the faction of Moray and Morton, should, in their zeal to punish the murder of Henry, urge too far their persecution of Mary; or who had formerly ranked with the Catholic party, and still cherished a fond attachment to the Catholic religion; conspired to make yet one great effort for the restoration of their Queen to liberty and to the enjoyment of the sovereign power. By urging their persecution of Mary so far as to compel her to an entire abdication of all authority, and to consign her to imprisonment in a dungeon; the triumphant party had shocked and offended the minds of many who would have continued faithful to them, had they been more moderate in their measures of prevention and revenge. Even Moray of Tullibairden, lately so zealous in his

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opposition to Bothwell, now deserted from the party of Morton and Moray. Nay, Maitland of Lethington; whether moved by hasty generosity of sentiment; or chusing a part which was recommended by prudent and honest policy; or fancying, that the new combination in favour of Mary, could not fail of success, and that he might obtain a complete ascendancy in the government of all their measures; deserted Morton and Moray, to whom he had been long attached; and shewed a new disposition to favour the views of the Hamiltons and their adherents. The old Duke of Chattelherault, was a man of mean talents. His eldest son had sunk nearly into a state of lunacy or idiotism. But, his younger sons had now advanced to manhood, and displayed talents sufficient to protect the dignities of their family, and to prosecute those views which it became them to adopt. In the western parts of the kingdom, the party of Mary's friends was soon strong. The Lord Fleming held for her, the castle of Dunbarton. Lord John Hamilton repaired to the Court of France, to solicit aid for the deliverance of the Queen. In the midst of these transactions, Mary artfully winning George Douglas, the brother of her keeper, to her interests, effected, by his means, her escape out of Lochleven-castle; and was conducted by the Lord Seton, with little delay,

delay, to the principal rendezvous of those who had espoused her cause, at Hamilton. Informed of her escape, her friends eagerly repaired from all quarters, to protect her person, and obey her commands. The Earls of Argyle, Cassilis, Rothes, and Eglinton, the Lords Somerville, Yester, Livingston, Borthwick, Herries, Ross, and Fleming, with many other persons of distinction, soon presented themselves before her, with the most ardent professions of zealous loyalty. Many hastily forsook the Regent's Court, to offer their duty to the Queen. A council of the nobles, and her other confidential servants, quickly declared those deeds of resignation to be void, which had been by Moray and Morton extorted from her fears. A bond was subscribed by eight Earls, nine Bishops, eighteen Lords, twelve Abbots and Priors, nearly one hundred inferior Barons, by which they solemnly engaged to maintain Mary's rights against all the arts and the violence of rebellion. An army of six thousand men was already mustered around her. Proposals sent by her to Moray, for the purposes of mutual concession and reconciliation, were by him sullenly rejected. It was therefore determined in the Council, no longer to avoid trying the event of a battle*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

1568.

BUT,

* Buchanan : Melville : Keith, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

Battle of
Langside-
hill,

BUT, Moray's genius was eminently fitted for occasions of difficulty and danger. He had now to contend for a prize that might well call forth into exertion all the most powerful energies of his soul. While he sternly refused all compromise with the Queen and her partizans; he, at the same time, employed with astonishing promptitude of mind, those measures which were requisite to defend himself and his government against their force. During the time of their assembling in arms around their Queen at Hamilton, he was in the neighbouring city of Glasgow, not more than twelve miles distant. Had they acted in the first instance, with sufficient vigilance and alert activity, it might perhaps have been not difficult for them, to cut him off by surprise. But, the inhabitants of Glasgow favoured his cause; the domains of the House of Lennox were adjacent,—and all the vassals of that house were ready to take arms against the Queen; Moray's popularity among the Presbyterians, quickly brought great numbers of them from all parts, to join him in arms. He soon saw around him a force which, although inferior in numbers to that of the Queen his sister, was, however sufficient to make him, in a considerable degree, confident of success. While the Queen's army moved westward towards Dunbarton, of purpose to place her in security in that impregnable castle

castle which the Lord Fleming still held out for her; Moray drew out his troops on Langside-hill, to intercept them on a march, that if successful, might enable them long to protract the war. Moray had already posted his troops with a skill that secured to them all the advantages of the ground; when the royal army came up. The two armies joined in battle. The first success of the day seemed to favour Mary. Her cavalry, her spearmen, more than withstood the onset of their opponents. But, the archers, and the musqueteers of Moray's army, soon turned the fortune of the fight. A general panic spread itself at once among the Queen's troops. They turned, they fled in such confusion, that Moray soon stayed the pursuit, because he desired not needless carnage, and because he saw that there was no danger of their rallying, again to oppose him. Mary seeing her last hopes thus undone, and distrusting her brother's mercy, fled, under the conduct of Lord Herries, through the shires of Renfrew and Ayr, nor halted till she had reached the Abbey of Dundrennan, almost at the southern extremity of Galloway, and nearly an hundred miles distant from the scene of the unfortunate battle. After some short stay in the Abbey of Dundrennan, she, with about twenty attendants, went on board a fishing boat, and with that

rash

SECT. I.
CHAP. VII.

A. D.
1542 to
1550.

SECT. I. rash haste with which persons sinking under the
CHAP. VII.

pressure of misfortune, are sometimes apt to run
A. D. into a greater evil for the sake of escaping a
1542 to smaller; failed to Workington in Cumberland;
1580. and there, landing in the dominions of her cousin;
put herself in the power of one in whose generosity or friendship she had little reason to confide *.

Moray improves his
victory.

MORAY, in the mean time, although he pursued not Mary's flight, was actively careful to make a due use of his victory. The castles of Draffan and of Hamilton, were surrendered at the summons of his triumphant army. In the North, by the zealous activity of the Lord Ruthven, the Earl of Huntley who had advanced to the banks of the Tay, with two thousand men in arms, under his command, was obliged to retire, without urging on farther. The Earls of Cassilis and Argyle, in vain, endeavoured once more to embody the remains of the Queen's army: for, Moray's alert energy, with the terror of his threats, and the stern severity of his vengeance, soon drove them to relinquish every purpose of making head against him with success. Of the prisoners whom his soldiers seized in arms, six were condemned

to

* Buchanan: Melville: Knox: Anderson, &c.

to death, as more eminently guilty or dangerous than the rest; but were, in the hour of execution, spared at the intercession of Knox. Knox and the rest of the Presbyterian preachers, believing that the success of Moray's arms, and the stability of his government, could alone give final and effectual stability to that form of religion which they preached; zealously devoted themselves as the supporters of his authority, and the ready instruments of all his purposes. Nothing but time seemed to be now wanting, to enable him to settle his administration on a basis too firm to be shaken by all the efforts of the partizans of the fugitive Queen*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

* Eodem quos supra.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

CHAPTER VIII.

*From the time of MARY's Flight into England, to
the Period of her Death,*

SUCH was the issue to which Mary's attachment to the Roman-Catholic religion, her youthful passions, the turbulence of the Scottish nobles, the fervent and artful zeal of the Protestant reformers, the jealousy of Queen Elizabeth, and the fears and guilty ambition of the Earl of Moray and his partizans; had unfortunately conducted those fair hopes and views with which Mary assumed the reins of the Scottish Government into her own hands, upon her return from France,

Correspondence
of Mary
with the
English
Court.

AFTER her arrival in England, her first correspondence was with those servants of Elizabeth, who held the command in the district in which she had landed. Lauder, the deputy-governor of the Castle of Carlisle, assembling the principal inhabitants of the neighbourhood, conducted her with respectful courtesy from Workington

to

to that castle. From Carlisle, Mary impatiently wrote to her cousin Elizabeth; announcing her arrival within the English dominions, explaining the series of her late misfortunes, imploring Elizabeth's protection, and proposing, without delay, to present herself in the English Court. Elizabeth's answer soothed the royal exile with the language of sympathy and kindness, but spoke also of the claims of justice, and brought no invitation to Mary, to repair to London. Awakened by the tenor of this answer, to a full sense of her misfortunes in all their extent; Mary now sent Lord Herreis, to solicit for her from her cousin, kinder consolation, and more effectual relief. Doubtful of the success of her intreaties with Elizabeth, she, about the same time, despatched a new embassy to the Court of France, to demand the aid of a Prince who was less interested than Elizabeth, to take advantage of her calamities, and to prolong them. The unfortunate are usually apt to imagine, that those who are in any degree connected with them, ought at once to forego all other regards for the sake of sympathizing with their sorrows, and relieving their distress. They forget, how little they themselves, in prosperity, have been disposed to sacrifice their interests or pleasures, to the consolation of others. But, although Mary, in her distress,

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

strefs, could forget that opposition of interest and of character which had hitherto subsisted between her and Elizabeth; the English Queen was not to be guided, in her conduct to Mary, in the present circumstances, by other sentiments than that personal rivalry, and that cold political prudence, by which she had been hitherto, so strongly actuated. The decencies of her royal dignity, the benefit to be derived from permanently humbling Mary in the eyes of those who wished to see her supplant her cousin, the triumph of envy and of personal rivalry; these were the principles which were to direct Elizabeth in her interposition between Mary and her rebellious subjects. There was nothing else to be naturally expected. It was only the weak-mindedness of misfortune, misleading the Scottish Queen, that would encourage her to conceive more flattering hopes. After some deliberation, it was determined between Elizabeth and her Counsellors, to amuse Mary with ambiguous answers; and to detain her in confinement and anxious suspense, under the pretext; that, till her character should be fully vindicated from those atrocious crimes with the imputation of which it had been branded, Elizabeth could not prudently interfere in her behalf; but that as soon as Mary's innocence should be fully evinced, her cousin would then naturally

naturally restore her to her throne. Mary, already dissatisfied with her situation, earnestly remonstrated against this cold and haughty unkindness. Remonstrances were all that she had to offer. Elizabeth and her ministers had recourse to new haughtiness and new evasions. Mary was now surrounded and watched, under the appearance of doing her honour, with a vigilance which proved Elizabeth to be fully sensible of all the consequence of the prize which she had obtained into her hands. The Scottish Queen was neither to be admitted into the presence of her royal cousin, to be suffered to make her escape out of the English dominions, nor to be permitted to intrigue freely with those English Roman-Catholics, who were attached to her interests*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1560.

In the mean time, the Earl of Moray, secure of a favourable hearing at the English Court; and still prosperous in all his undertakings at home; was not slow to furnish, by his remonstrances and complaints against his sister, sufficient matter to enable Elizabeth speciously to justify that ambiguous tenor of conduct which she had adopted in regard to Mary. Dispatching Wood, his secretary, to London, he by this man, proposed to vindicate himself and

* Melville : Camden : Buchanan, &c.

SECT. I. and his adherents, by evincing, with irresistible
CHAP. VIII.

proofs, the bainous guilt of his sister. He
A. D. invited Elizabeth to assume the flattering charac-
1542 to ter of arbiter and judge, between Mary and
1580. her disloyal subjects. He artfully employed
means to induce the English Queen, to pro-

Intrigues
of Moray
at the
English
Court; and
ungene-
rous con-
duct of
Elizabeth.
cure Mary to disarm, by her own command,
those of her faithful subjects in Scotland,
whose activity on her behalf, the Regent had
not yet been able entirely to suppress. Pre-
tending still a tender interest in the fortunes
of Mary which she did not feel, and a re-
gard equally insincere, to the right and justice
of the case; Elizabeth, while she seemed stern-
ly to threaten and overawe the ambassadors
of the Scottish Regent, nevertheless gratified
his wishes. Mary was still detained at a dis-
tance from the English Court, and was treated
with a contemptuous haughtiness, little adapted
to flatter her partizans in Scotland with the
hopes of effectual aid to be speedily obtained
from England. She was solicited to submit
her cause to the investigation and judgement
of Elizabeth; to lay her commands on her
adherents in Scotland, that they should no
longer exert themselves in opposition to Moray's
administration; and to decline the immediate
introducing of French forces into the castle
of Dunbarton, which was still faithfully held
for

for Mary. Whatever might have been her former crimes; her present fate might well excite our general pity. She was ensnared within the power of her enemies; and they, under pretence of treating her according to justice, thought only of managing so as to turn her misfortunes, as much as possible, to their own advantage. From Carlisle, She was conducted to Bolton-Castle, and was there watched with all the jealousy with which it might have been natural to treat a dangerous state-prisoner. To the complaints of Moray, were soon joined against her, those also of the Countess of Lennox, the mother of the murdered Henry. So many complaints seemed to impose it upon Elizabeth, as an indispensable duty, to satisfy herself by due investigation of the guilt or innocence of her cousin, before taking any farther steps to protect or aid her. Mary, while still hesitating, was at last induced, by strong private assurances of her cousin's partiality in her favour, to resign implicitly all the merits of her cause to Elizabeth's decision. Preparations were made for a trial, in which the English Queen was to act that grand part of an umpire in the Scottish affairs, which, of all her predecessors, Edward the Fourth had been alone exalted to perform. Moray, before repairing to England

to

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

to become the accuser of his sister and his Sovereign, took advantage of those circumstances which had disarmed her Scottish partizans; procured sentences of forfeiture to be pronounced against the most distinguished persons in the party of the Hamiltons; and wasted with fire and sword, the territories in Nithsdale and Galloway, of the Gordons, the Herreises, and the Maxwells, who were still faithful in their adherence to the Queen*.

Prepara-
tions for
Mary's
trial.

ALL was at last arranged for the destined trial. From those who administered the government of Scotland in the name of Mary's infant son, were deputed the Regent himself, the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, Robert commendator of Dunfermline, and Patrick Lord Lindsay: Maitland of Lethington, Mr James Macgill, Mr Henry Balnaveis, and the celebrated George Buchanan, also attended in the commission, as assistants to Moray. Lesly bishop of Ross, the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herreis, Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn, were empowered by Mary to act on her behalf. Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk. Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, were the commissioners whom Elizabeth

sent

* Buchanan: Melville: Camden, &c.

sent to take cognizance, in her name, of the matter in contest between the Scottish Queen and her subjects. It was understood, on the one hand, that by entering into this investigation, Elizabeth pledged herself to guarantee the present government of Scotland, if Mary's guilt should be satisfactorily evinced: At least Moray and his associates were encouraged to infer as much in their own favour from the conduct of Elizabeth, and from the hints which were thrown out by her ministers. On the other hand, Mary and her faithful servants expected; that if her innocence should be even but plausibly maintained; Elizabeth would then interfere to restore her to the throne from which she had been expelled. Neither Mary, nor her disobedient subjects, could seriously regard their submission to this inquiry in any other light, than as an expedient for obtaining Elizabeth's approbation and aid, not a trial in which they were called, as of right, before a superior tribunal. But, the English Queen, with her ministers and counsellors, earnestly considered this investigation, as an opportunity for re-establishing the paramount supremacy of the English Crown over the kingdom of Scotland; as an occasion for exalting the character of Elizabeth, over that of her fallen rival Mary; as what afforded extraordinary advantages over both the Scots and

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1550.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

their Queen, and would put, in effect, the fate of both in Elizabeth's hands; as a trial, in short, of which the event might probably justify Elizabeth in treating her cousin as a criminal*.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

ALL these commissioners met at York, on the fourth day of October, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight. After some complaints, that Elizabeth, in the letters appointing her commissioners, appeared to arrogate to herself a power which the Scots were not at all disposed to concede to her; and after some reciprocal protestations, expressive of the rights which the Scots and the English respectively conceived to belong to themselves; the deputies began to enter upon the discussion of the more material parts of the business which had brought them together. The deputies of Mary, warmly declared the wrongs she had suffered from her base brother and his partizans. Moray, in answer to their accusations, uttered dark hints of atrocious guilt, of which he was ready to produce irresistible evidence against Mary; if, upon her conviction, Elizabeth would protect and confirm with all her power, that establishment of the Scottish government, which he and his friends had already made. To this menaced accusation, he added an unsatisfactory apology for

Opening
of the con-
ferences at
York.

* Camden: Buchanan, &c,

for all the measures which his party had taken against their Queen; pretending that they had been compelled to these by her weak misgovernment; and were amply justified by her own voluntary resignation of her Crown, in favour of her infant son, and of the Earl of Moray as Regent. Mary's deputies were ready to make a warm and strongly convincing answer to the latter and more direct part of this defence. Moray did not immediately offer aught in reply. The discussion of these affairs, was, from the first, embarrassed and retarded by the pretensions of the English Commissioners, to inquire and decide with the full authority of legally constituted judges; while, on the other hand, neither party of the Scots was willing to surrender, upon this occasion, the national independency,—and neither Moray nor Mary desired more than to make such an explanation as should engage Elizabeth in the warm and decisive support of the one or of the other. Moray in his defence, was perplexed, as it should seem;—by the want of sufficient evidence to convict Mary of having been an accomplice in her husband's murder;—by a knowledge of Elizabeth's character and policy, which taught him, that the caprices of personal pride, and a respect to the true interests of the English government, would alone regulate her conduct

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1560.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

duct in the present affair;—by a cautious unwillingness to provoke irreconcilably against himself, all the other friends and allies of Mary,—unless he were first confidently certain, that Elizabeth would, in every difficulty, support and protect him with all her power and friendship. In addition to the difficulties which in this manner arose, to check Moray in his accusations, and to retard the progress of the investigation, others were soon excited by the wishes and intrigues of Elizabeth's principal commissioner, the Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk was the principal person among the English Catholics, a widower, eminently popular, amorous, ambitious. He had already conceived the design of obtaining Mary for his wife; of delivering her out of her present difficulties, of restoring her to the Scottish throne and to the hopes of the English succession; and of thus advancing himself, with her, to the heights of royalty, from that eminence of subject-greatness which he already enjoyed. His suggestions made Moray still more fearful of Elizabeth's ultimate views, and more reluctant to endanger himself by the too open, direct, and circumstantial accusation of his sister. Maitland, although numbered among the attendants of the Scottish Regent, was still inclined to favour, in a certain degree, the cause of the

Queen;

Queen : And his artifices co-operated with other circumstances in preventing Moray, for a time, from proceeding to measures of extreme hostility against Mary*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.
A. D.
1542 to
1580.

In consequence of all this, mutual communications took place between the defenders, the accusers, and the destined judges of Mary, which promised to disappoint Elizabeth's hopes, and once more to restore the Scottish Queen to liberty and dominion. Lesly, and the other commissioners for Mary, eagerly grasped at whatever appeared likely to alleviate or terminate the misfortunes of their royal mistress. Moray became, every day, more sensible of the danger to which he exposed himself, by trusting to Elizabeth's power or doubtful promises, and by prosecuting a plan of too rancorous revenge against his sister. Maitland negotiated among all parties; desirous to rescue Mary from distress,—to save the Presbyterian party from being ruined by her escape,—and to make Norfolk the instrument of his purposes, while he should, at the same time, gratify this powerful nobleman, in both his ambition and his love. The Lady Scroope, the sister of the Duke of Norfolk, was Mary's companion at Bolton-Castle; and *her* intermediation served rapidly

* Anderson, vol. iv : Goodall, v. 2 : Buchanan, &c.

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A. D.
1542 to
1580.

rapidly to promote between the Scottish Queen and the Duke, that intrigue of love and policy in which they had engaged. Moray was persuaded to decline the odium of accusing his sister of a husband's murder. Artifices were employed to divert Elizabeth and her Council from urging the matter to farther extremities. A prospect seemed to be opened, by the joint efforts of all the principal commissioners, of such a termination of the whole affair, as should not overthrow the pretences of either Mary or the Regent, should restore tranquility in Scotland, and should once more make Mary formidable to her cousin. As this termination of Mary's present misfortunes, by means of the Duke of Norfolk, and consequently of the English Catholics, would have contributed to restore to the Popish party in Scotland, all their former weight and influence; it is impossible that aught but an anxious sense of personal danger, or the overbearing persuasions of the rest of his party, could have disposed Moray to agree to it*.

BUT, a state-intrigue can rarely be of such a nature, that it shall not be the interest of one person or another, to disclose it to those
against

* Camden; Spottiswood; Buchanan; Anderson; Coll: Goodall, &c.

against whom it is intended to operate. The averſion of Moray to proceed with earneſtneſs in the open and judicial detection of his ſiſter's crimes; the new hopes conceived by Norfolk; the combination among all the principal of the commiſſioners at York, for the reſtoration of Mary to her throne; were ſoon either betrayed to Elizabeth, or ſuſpected by her and her Council, in conſequence of that particular turn which the current of the affairs at York had plainly taken. Elizabeth, therefore, pretending that the progreſs of the inquiry was delayed by the great diſtance between London and York; directed its farther diſcuſſion to be diſcontinued at the latter of theſe places; that it might be renewed at London, where it could be more ſpeedily brought to a termination under her own immediate inſpection. The commiſſioners repaired, of courſe, to the Engliſh Court: and ſtill Elizabeth ſpoke only the language of kindneſs and compaſſion to the deputies of Mary. But, all the ſecret intrigues of Moray and Norfolk, were now made known; and Moray was ſoon compelled by the threats of the Engliſh and of his own co-adjutors, to abandon that tenor of delicate conduct towards his ſiſter, which he had been perſuaded to adopt, and to avow himſelf ready to convict her, by irrefiſtible evidence, of the moſt atrocious crimes.

Other

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

The cog-
nizance of
the cauſe
transfer-
red from
York to
London.

SECT. I. Other commissioners were added to those who
CHAP. VIII.

had acted for Elizabeth in the conferences at
A. D. York. A new rigour and vigilance were em-
1542 to
1580. ployed to prevent Mary from making her escape. Both her defenders and her accusers were amused by every ambiguous promise, and every artful insinuation, that appeared necessary to make them throw themselves implicitly and unequivocally upon the mercy of Elizabeth. That accusation which had been hitherto deferred, was at last extorted from Moray and his associates. To strengthen its force against the unhappy Mary, the Earl of Lennox was called in, to claim justice and vengeance upon the murderer of his son. The whole affair was now made to assume still more and more the aspect of a solemn and regular trial, before a Court of justice, in which Mary appeared as the accused criminal; her rebel-subjects, as the prosecutors; Elizabeth and her commissioners, as the judges.—It is true, that, by this management, Elizabeth the most effectually protected her own safety, and the establishments of the Presbyterian religion in both Scotland and England: It is true, that she, by the same means, seemed to exalt the dignity of the English Crown, to a new pre-eminence over that of Scotland: But, nothing could be a more flagrant violation of that *law of nations*, which

which was, even then, received among the states and kingdoms of Europe; nothing could more directly transgress all the common principles of justice and humanity, than these measures of which the policy was so artful and so efficacious *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1541 to
1580.

By these new means, the Queen of England soon extricated herself from the obligation of whatever encouraging promises she had made to Mary. Moray and his co-adjutors, reduced to the apparent necessity of either accusing their Queen, upon strong evidence, as an adulteress and a murderer,—or else seeing themselves rejected and condemned, as guilty rebels; now produced a casket of letters, which was pretended to have been intercepted in its conveyance between Mary and Bothwell. The letters contained in this casket, were, upon examination, found to evince the existence of a guilty intimacy between the Scottish Queen and her paramour, before the murder of Henry Stewart; which betrayed Mary's adultery, and necessarily involved her as an accomplice in Bothwell's foulest guilt. These letters were eagerly seized by Elizabeth and her ministers, as criminating proofs against Mary, of which the force could by no means be inva-

Termination of these transactions, without relief to Mary.

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3 Q

lidated.

* Eodem quos supra.

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A. D.
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1580.

lidated or evaded. *Mary's agents*, when they saw these writings triumphantly produced against them; when they perceived, that Elizabeth treated the adversaries of their mistress with gracious favour,—while she held Mary herself removed at a distance from her presence; when they fully understood, that Elizabeth, instead of requiring merely that satisfaction concerning Mary's innocence, which might seem requisite to justify her own honour to the world, if she should interfere to restore her cousin to the Scottish throne,—still strove to act as an umpire and a supreme judge in this affair, and thought only of serving her own interests from Mary's misfortunes; when experience and due reflection, with the observation of the manner in which all Mary's complaints and remonstrances were slighted, made them sensible that she had no favour, perhaps no justice, to hope from the English Queen; *waved* the farther investigation of this whole affair, sometimes by suggesting expedients by which its progress was artfully delayed, and sometimes by boldly accusing the partiality and questioning the authority of Elizabeth. After all the delays and artifices of negotiation had been, on all hands, tried; Moray and his associates were dismissed in honour, to resume the administration of the Scottish government. Elizabeth seemed to declare herself satisfied

satisfied of the candour, innocence, and honest political wisdom of all that they had done against their Sovereign. The farther examination of the matters in contest between them and Mary, was delayed, because Mary and her Commissioners would no longer submit to that umpirage or judicial authority which the English Queen had arrogated, and which Moray and his adherents had been willing to own in her. Elizabeth and the faction of Moray scrupled not to represent this conduct of Mary, as suggested by conscious guilt, and by the terror of certain conviction if the trial should proceed. Upon this pretext, Elizabeth declined shewing farther favour to her cousin, restoring her to her throne, or even setting her at liberty from confinement, till the atrocious imputations brought against her by her own subjects, should have been satisfactorily disproved.—Thus did the English Queen obtain advantages more considerable than could have been purchased by the most successful war. A rival Queen was her captive: A neighbouring kingdom was subjected to her controul: A competitor even for her own throne, and for the influence of a Sovereign even over *her* English subjects, was branded with the charge of atrocious guilt, and reduced to a condition of helpless misery, in which, it might

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I. well seem, that she could no longer be, in any
CHAP. VIII. degree, formidable *.

A. D.

1542 to

1560.

The ques-
tion of
Mary's
guilt or
inno-
cence, pro-
posed.

BUT, were those papers genuine on which Elizabeth, and Mary's enemies in Scotland, pretended to found their strong conviction of Mary's guilt? Is it unequivocally, and indubitably certain, that Mary was *either guilty or innocent* of the crimes which have been, on one side, furiously imputed to her,—on the other hand, zealously denied as acts and intentions of which her pure soul was even utterly incapable?

She was
guilty; for

It would be highly pleasing, if we could acquit this unhappy Queen of the guilt of her husband's murder; for, it is ever more grateful to contemplate the virtues, than the crimes of mankind. But, the following considerations seem to render it impossible for candid and rational discrimination to pronounce her innocent of Darnley's blood.

her educa-
tion had
formed her
character
for the
commis-
sion of
such a
crime.

I. Mary's education had not impressed her mind with those correct moral sentiments, which, when strongly and habitually present to the soul, render

* Papers apud Goodall: Carte: Whitaker: Robertson, &c.

render it incapable of being tempted to commit convenient crimes. In the Court of France, in which she was brought up, she had seen before her, the example of Catherine di Medici; a woman who was prone to encourage at once all the wanton and luxurious vices, with all the most dark and atrocious crimes. Sentiments and manners not abhorrent from those of this bad Queen, were prevalent among all the ladies and nobles of her Court. It was impossible, that the young and tender mind of Mary, her daughter-in-law, should escape the infection. The Roman-Catholic religion, likewise, which Mary professed;—even before the Jesuits had ingrafted upon it, their most pernicious maxims; was but too much adapted to encourage the irregular passions, and soothe the remorse—of the vicious, and to pervert the first principles of genuine morality in the heart. Besides, in this fierce and turbulent age, in general, the taking away of human life, by whatever means, or upon whatever pretence, was not regarded in the same light, as in times when the authority of law and peaceful order, is more effectually established. Princes especially, who were accounted to have the lawful power of life and death in their hands, were often at this time apt to think; that, when they had once determined to put any person to death; it signified little,

SECT. I.
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A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I. little, whether that person were guilty or inno-
CHAP. VIII.

cent, amenable to their power or not so,—nor
A. D. in what manner their death-warrant were carried
1542 to
1580. into execution against its object. Thus the ex-
ample of a profligate Court, the influence of a
religion far too indulgent to vice, the easy and
loose morality of the age in general, but particu-
larly of its Princes, in regard to murder and
other atrocious crimes; naturally tended to form
Mary's mind in her early years, to habits of
thinking and of moral judgement, not greatly
abhorrent from a crime so dark as the murder
of a husband.

The natu-
ral impe-
tuosity of
her passions,
made her
liable to it.

II. MARY was a woman of the most ardent
passions, and ever ready to obey their headlong
impulse, without any scrupulous regard to the
restraints of rectitude or of prudence. After
the death of her husband Francis, no conside-
rations could make her pride stoop to conci-
liate the useful favour of Catherine, her mother-
in-law. In her Court at Edinburgh, she in-
dulged her fond predilection for the gaiety of
French manners, without listening to what the
decencies of her regal dignity, or the prejudices
of the Scots, the most loudly demanded. When,
however, her pride was relentlessly offended
by the presumption of Chatelard; she deli-
vered

vered him up to the executioner with a justice which was too passionately severe. When Darnley first won her fickle love, she hurried to the gratification of the passion she had conceived for him, with an impetuosity which overleaped all the obstacles of treasonable intrigue, of prudence, even of virtue. To avenge the death of Rizzio, her rage drove her to employ the most deceitful artifices, the bold activity of a Virago, and the most inhuman cruelty of punishment. She who had been, on every former remarkable occasion of her life, the slave of her passions, even to such a degree, as, under their impulse, to violate all the laws of justice; may be naturally supposed to have been liable to be hurried anew by those passions into crimes, such as those of which she was now accused,

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III. MARY'S talents were evidently too great, to suffer her to fall so weakly under the influence of others, as she must have fallen, if she had been not the accomplice, but the mere engine of Bothwell in the murder of her husband, and in the receiving of the murderer, as the partner of her bed. Was it possible for her, when all her faculties, and particularly her vigilance and penetration, were erected,

Her talents rendered it impossible that she should be imposed upon, by Bothwell.

and

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1580.

and set on edge by the passions of love and hatred, to avoid discovering what designs were contrived by her lover against her husband? Bothwell was evidently so inferior in talents to Mary, that it was impossible for him to hide from her, all the secrets of his soul,—even although he had *striven* to wear the guise of hypocrisy. While he was constantly near her person, the confidant of all her counsels, the instrument by whose intervention she evidently loaded her husband with contumely and scorn; could she avoid perceiving the exact nature of his sentiments towards Henry? Or was it possible for him to hide from her, the whole train of his machinations against the unfortunate King? It is not denied, that, even at this time, Bothwell's ambitious love had aspired to Mary's affections. But, this love, however contaminated by moral profligacy, and by guilty ambition, could not but make him liable to betray all his sentiments and designs connected with it,—to her who was its object. And if Mary had but the slightest suspicion of the wicked purpose of Bothwell, against her Lord's life,—and yet interposed not to frustrate and punish such a purpose; she must, of necessity, be regarded as an accomplice in its guilt!

IV. HAD Mary not been conscious of participation in Bothwell's crime; the indignant loftiness of her spirit, would not have failed to make her inflict speedy and rigorous vengeance on the suspected murderer of her husband. Former partiality for the murderer would have given place to horror for the atrocious audacity of his guilt. The sense of her insulted, violated Majesty, would have suppressed every subordinate sentiment in her breast. Concern lest her own honour might be injured by the imputation of a consciousness of his crime, would have quickened the activity of her revenge. Even the regards of prudence, if these should have interfered, would not have been suffered to stay her fury. Having the public voice fully accordant with what she herself felt; she would have quickly exalted her own popularity and power, by doing justice to the memory of the father of her son. The whole tenor of her previous conduct, was such as to leave it impossible for us to conclude, that, if innocent, she could on this occasion have acted otherwise. Although hating her husband, at the instant of his death; yet, if not an accomplice more or less directly, in its perpetration;—all her feelings would, by his fall, have been awakened to new tenderness in his behalf; and on whomsoever her suspicions fell,—he who was their object could not have failed

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Mary's
temper
would
have made
her re-
venge her
husband
with seve-
rity, if the
conspiracy
against
him had
been disa-
greeable
to her.

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to perish under her vengeance. Instead of being, upon an occasion so interesting, cold, and timid, and ready to submit to the direction of others; she herself, more than any one else, would have been roused to energetic activity, to ride in the whirlwind of the national revenge, and to direct its storm upon the heads of the guilty. On all occasions throughout the whole course of her reign, and even of her life; whenever her feelings were powerfully agitated, whenever her passions were ardently inflamed; her genius rose superior to the influence of those around her, and she would still, for some few moments, guide the progress of her affairs with unrivalled ability.

None but
Mary
could have
interest to
encourage
Bothwell
to the
murder.

V. Of all the persons belonging to the Scottish Courts, there was none except the Queen, who could have any motives either of passion or of interest, sufficient to prompt them to conspire with Bothwell against Henry's life. Moray, Morton, Maitland of Lethington, hated Henry; nor do they appear to have been secured against temptation to perpetrate a profitable murder, by any fixed sanctity of their religious or moral principles. But, they were crafty politicians. They were not men apt to commit any but profitable crimes; nor, indeed, to distinguish

distinguish themselves by any but profitable virtues. Had Henry been a man of powerful and formidable talents; those politicians, the leaders of the Presbyterian party, might have been sufficiently disposed to rid themselves of such an opponent, by assassination. But, he had already sunk into insignificance before them. Their revenge was amply gratified by the weakness of character which he had displayed, and by the contempt and humiliation into which he had fallen. It was for them more useful, that Mary should continue the wife of such a weak Prince as Henry, whose mean abilities, and disagreement with his Queen, must long make room for the greatness of ambitious subjects; rather than that, being delivered either by divorce or by his death, from her conjugal connexion with him; she should thus be left free to become the wife of a man whose talents might enable him to vindicate to himself and his Queen, the whole Sovereign power. Instead of having any motives of interest, to induce them to make way for the exaltation of Bothwell, by assassinating Henry; it was rather *their* interest, to reconcile Mary with her husband, in order to ruin the influence of her more able, more profligate, and more turbulent lover. To exalt Bothwell, that they might afterwards degrade

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and destroy him; to cut off a weak adversary, expressly of purpose to raise up to themselves another more powerful; were measures too obviously unwise and impolitic, to be ever adopted by such men as Moray, Morton, and Maitland. Bothwell's elevation could not but threaten much more of opposition and mischief to them, than whatever they might have to dread even from the most cordial reconciliation of Mary with her husband. Since motives of interest alone, can be supposed to have uniformly actuated the leaders of the reformers; and since it was more for their interest, that Henry should be safe, and should be reconciled to his Queen, than that he should be cut off to make way for the exaltation of Bothwell: We must therefore infer, that those leaders of the reformation cannot have made themselves accomplices in Henry's murder. But, it seems to have been generally confessed; that if Moray and Morton were not accomplices in the crime of Bothwell; Mary herself cannot but have been conscious of it.

She would have punished Bothwell for the violence which he offered to her love, if she had not been an accomplice in his crimes.

VI. WE may likewise affirm with confidence; that, if Mary had not been an accomplice in Bothwell's guilt, and already partial to his love; she would not have failed to punish with

with signal severity, the seeming violence with which he carried her away to Dunbar, and there ravished those favours which should have been spontaneously granted by love alone. It is natural for the female sex in general; however they may be pleased with that boldness which overcomes their *feigned reluctance*; yet, to be irreconcilably provoked by any attempt to force from them, a love which they are, in their hearts, *seriously disposed to refuse*. Mary, in particular, was of a temper to resent, with fierce and implacable indignation, any attempt to commit violence on either her Majesty or her love. Instead of being soothed to forgive the rape, and to resign her willing affections to the ravisher; she would, undoubtedly, have seized the first opportunity of escaping out of Bothwell's hands,—if her love had actually suffered violence from his flagitious audacity,—and of raising her whole kingdom in arms for the purpose of subjecting him to condign punishment. Had not Bothwell been dear to her; she might have found, in the resentment of the wrongs he offered, and in the attempt to revenge them, an occasion, once more to recover all that popularity and influence among her subjects in general, which she had once possessed, but had now for some time lost. Nothing but the consciousness of being

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an accomplice in the crimes of Bothwell, could made a woman of Mary's high spirit, and mental energy, submit to make herself the victim of his subsequent artifices.

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Papers,
&c. con-
firm the
opinion of
Mary's
guilt.

VII. It seems to be sufficiently evident, that those written proofs of the guilt of Mary, which Moray and his associates offered to the inspection of Elizabeth and her commissioners, were not in all their parts completely genuine. Hence, it has been earnestly inferred, that Mary must have been innocent of crimes of which her enemies strove to convict her by falsified evidence. But, this inference does not necessarily arise out of the premises from which it is deduced. Mary might be guilty; and yet, her accusers, wanting due proofs of that guilt which they suspected, might have recourse to base arts, in order to accomplish her conviction. Bothwell was not in their hands: Those of the suspected accomplices who had been seized, gave but an uncertain evidence: Many of those whose judgement and testimony might have been the most useful, to establish the certainty of Mary's guilt, were attached to *herself*, and were removed beyond the power of her accusers. Yet, after what they had done, it was indispensibly necessary, even to the personal safety of Moray and his associates, that they should prove

prove Mary to have been an adulteress, and the murderer of her husband. In such circumstances, what was more natural for men like them, than to feign proofs of a guilt which they believed to be real, although sufficient proofs of its reality were not in their hands? But, the falsity of *their* evidence could never destroy the reality of *her* guilt!——And yet, the papers produced as the contents of the famous casket, have never been satisfactorily proved to be entirely forgeries. If difficulties arise in the attempt to account for various inconsistencies which they present, when regarded as genuine; most of these difficulties may be removed, by considering them as partly genuine, and only in part forgeries; by supposing that the casket and certain of these papers actually fell into the hands of Mary's enemies, who produced them against her; but that, in order to derive greater advantage from this fortunate capture, those enemies were induced to enlarge the number of the genuine papers by the addition of forgeries in which Mary's guilt should seem to be directly and unequivocally betrayed. Is there any incident so ancient, so secret, in the contrary representations of which party-interests have been so much concerned, and which if made equally the theme of disputation, might not be made

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to

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to appear equally problematic? If certain circumstances seem to imply, unavoidably, the forgery of the contents of the famous casket; there are others, which, on the contrary, seem to render it impossible, that those papers should have been forged, on the face of which they appear. The papers of the casket do not present themselves in that suspicious form in which even they alone might have been accepted, as affording irrefragable evidence of Mary's guilt. But, when regarded only as one auxiliary proof among many others; they cannot be denied, even with all their inconsistencies, to add something to the weight of the general mass of evidence.

Mary and
Bothwell
had a great
interest to
perpetrate
the murder.

VIII. STILL this consideration, above all others, must strongly recur to the mind that meditates upon this interesting affair: *None but Mary and Bothwell could derive from Henry's murder, advantages in any degree equivalent to the danger, the guilt, and the odium of the crime.* A divorce between Mary and Henry, could not be accomplished without much trouble and long delays. It would, besides, have left Henry still in a condition to rival Mary even in the government of her own kingdom, and most certainly in her pretensions to the inheritance of the

the English Crown. It might have placed James, the son of Henry and Mary, under the tutelage of his father. It did not suit the impatience of Mary's love and hatred: It seemed to threaten the diminution of her power. Hence the necessity of recurring to other measures; if Mary desired to make Bothwell, instead of Henry, the partner of her bed and her throne. But, for any purpose, except to make way for the marriage of Mary with Bothwell, the assassination of Henry was not desirable.

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IX. LET it not appear to us surprising, that the *guilt* or *innocence* of Mary should have so long remained a problem in history! Even any one of those facts in history which are regarded as the most unquestionably certain, might be brought into doubt; and might have the most plausible probabilities urged against its reality, if human ingenuity could be but sufficiently interested in the discussion. Interests of the highest conceivable importance, existed to make one party deny, while the other affirmed the guilt of Mary during her own life. Parties then took their rise, which having ever since continued to subsist, have consequently prolonged the dispute. From the circumstances of the persons among whom it first arose, and

Circumstances which created and have prolonged the dispute concerning Mary's guilt or innocence.

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of the time, the evidence was, on both sides, left in confusion, which could scarcely admit of being disentangled, in obscurity hardly susceptible of illumination. When at a later æra, the dispute was renewed; we have seen the ancient party-spirit rekindled with it. The jealousies and competitions of rival historians have interposed, to foment the strife. The love of paradox in the breasts of men of letters, has aided the mischief. And a ridiculous spirit of gallantry, has prompted some men to tell us, that because Mary was enchantingly beautiful, they have therefore determined to maintain that she must have been incapable of guilt. Never surely was gallantry more absurdly employed, than when it proposes to alter the truth of history*.

AMIDST

* Goodall, Stuart, Tytler, Whitaker, Hume, Robertson, Dr T. Robertson, Mademoiselle, Keralio, and others, have, within these last sixty or seventy years, discussed this question of Mary's guilt or innocence of the crimes of Bothwell, with very great ability. I could not satisfy myself with examining merely the original papers, without anxiously comparing and weighing the opinions and reasonings of these illustrious commentators upon them. On the whole, it has appeared to me, that all these writers, in considering this subject, have either suffered

AMIDST all this train of events, the Earl of Moray had not yet abandoned those intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk, in which his own fears and the artifices of Maitland formerly engaged him. In these recent transactions, he might seem to be urged on by the necessities of his situation, and by the profound and vigilant policy of Elizabeth, not by a desire to build up his own greatness upon the ruin of his sister and Queen. As he returned, in triumph from the English Court, he still artfully pretended to remain faithful to the spirit of his engagements with Norfolk. No sooner was he safe in Scotland, than partly by the vigorous use of violence and surprise; in part, by the influence which his intrigue with Norfolk failed not to give him with some of the

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D.
to
1550.

Intrigues
in Eng-
land, in
favour of
Mary; and
successes
of Moray
in Scot-
land.

3 S 2

Scottish

suffered themselves to be misled by the partialities of party, or have been foolishly betrayed into error by a vain passion for historical paradox, or have considered but a *part* of the evidence,—instead of expanding the comprehension of their minds, to grasp the whole. Those by whom Mary has been acquitted, have acted rather as her advocates, than as an impartial and enlightened jury. Even they by whom she has been condemned, have condemned her, rather because they wished her, than because they knew her, to be guilty.

SECT. I. Scottish nobles who still adhered to the Queen ;
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he disarmed Mary's partizans throughout the kingdom, abolished her authority, by negotiation first—and then by force brought even the Duke of Chattelherault to be the humble subject and the captive of his power, made the loyal Lord Herreis the companion of the Duke's imprisonment, and at last compelled even the Earls of Argyle and Huntley, who had the most obstinately opposed his authority, to lay down their arms, and own him Regent. The success of his intrigues in England, the fortunate activity with which he thus prevailed over his adversaries at home, the general energy and vigilance of his whole administration, still exalted his popularity and influence among those reformers by whose agency he had been raised to greatness. In those intrigues which were still carried on in England, in Mary's favour, he was still, by the mediation of his agents, a party. While he ruined his sister's cause, it seemed as if he might snatch the prize of loyalty even from those who had approved themselves the most faithful of her adherents*.

Progress of these intrigues. IN England, in the mean time, those intrigues which had been attempted in Mary's favour,

* Camden : Buchanan : Melville, &c.

favour, were rapidly advancing to a crisis. She was heir-apparent to the English Crown; and numbers of the English nobility were hence gradually drawn in by the arts of Maitland, by the influence of Norfolk, by patriotic regard for the future tranquillity of the kingdom, to interest themselves zealously in her behalf. The unkindness of Elizabeth, instead of discouraging and cooling the zeal of these friends of Mary, served but to quicken their activity, and to enhance their ardour. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, eminent among the chiefs of the English Roman-Catholics, were, for the sake of their religion, eager in their devotion to Mary's interests. The Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, with the Lord Lumley, anxious to prevent the evils of a new contest for the English succession,—or, it may be influenced by other motives; subscribed a letter to the Scottish Queen; in which they recommended Norfolk to her as a husband; engaged to co-operate for the purposes of restoring her to the Scottish throne, and of securing to her the peaceable succession to that of England, upon Elizabeth's death; required her, in the mean time, to pardon the rebellion of Moray and his partizans, to maintain in Scotland the Presbyterian religion, to engage in a perpetual league

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SECT. I. league offensive and defensive with the English
 CHAP. VIII. nation, and with Elizabeth their reigning Queen.

A. D. Elizabeth's harshness to Mary, the perpetual ef-
 1542 to 1580. forts of the Roman-Catholics in her favour, the personal influence of her lover Norfolk, the fears of the English for a civil war, the loyalty and the artifices of Maitland, the pretended candour of Moray, had produced these exertions to restore Mary to power and honour. A divorce between Mary and Bothwell, was to be obtained from the Scottish clergy by the influence of Moray. When he hesitated and delayed, means were adopted for the accomplishment of this measure by the authority of the Romish Church alone. The contract of marriage between Mary and Norfolk was already signed. The combination was so extensive and so powerful, and had hitherto been so carefully concealed from Elizabeth; that it seemed likely to remain unknown, till all opposition on the part of Elizabeth would be utterly vain, and till the must of necessity acquiesce in what she could not frustrate*.

They are
 defeated.

BUT, the plot was betrayed, ere it could be accomplished. The Earl of Leicester, or some other person of those who were conscious of

* Eodem quos supra.

of it, unguardedly or treacherously suffered it to be discovered by Elizabeth. Moray, when he refused to promote the divorce, had already determined to oppose the restoration of his sister's power and honour. To him, the success of the plot could, at best, have given but a part of that which he already enjoyed. No sooner were the machinations of Mary's friends openly known to Elizabeth and her ministers, than the most obnoxious among them were placed in confinement. Mary herself was removed into more rigorous custody in Tutbury-castle; and Norfolk was sternly warned by Elizabeth, to relinquish his ambitious hopes and pursuits. Maitland in Scotland, was about the same time taken into custody by the Regent; and had he not been, for the time, saved by Kirkaldy, by a flight, would perhaps have been immediately sacrificed to Moray's fears and prudence. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, attempting to raise an insurrection for Mary's deliverance, in the northern counties of England, were with little difficulty defeated, and forced to seek refuge by flight beyond the Scottish borders. Elizabeth, thus safe, and triumphant over the machinations of her enemies, was yet still extremely anxious in respect to the choice of those means

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SECT. I. means which might best secure her against
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any future attempts on the part of Mary.

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1580.

Amid her doubts and anxiety, she had, at one time, almost resolved to deliver up the Scottish Queen into the hands of her ambitious and guilty brother, and the furious Presbyterians*.

The Earl
of Moray
assassinated.

MORAY, however, was not long to survive and reign in a kingdom out of which he had expelled his sister. Elizabeth's continued favour; her success in defeating all the machinations which Mary's partizans contrived against her; his own good fortune in humbling and subduing almost all the remaining pride and strength of Mary's party among the Scots; seemed for a while to crown the regency of Moray with the most flattering prosperity. But, on the twenty-third day of January, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, his career was, at Linlithgow, suddenly cut short by the hand of an assassin. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh resenting those wrongs which his own family had suffered from the Regent's severity, after the battle of Langside-hill; willing also to become the avenger of Mary, and of the injuries

* Camden, &c.

injuries which the Hamiltons in general had suffered from Moray in her cause; awaited the Regent's passage through the street of Linlithgow, as he was on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh; with a musket-shot from a window, laid his proud adversary dying on the ground; and then by the back of the house from which he had aimed the fatal bullet, made his escape on a fleet horse, beyond the pursuit of those whom he had thus deprived of their chief*.

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OF his character, little remains to be said, after that display of it which has been unavoidably made in the history of the Scottish nation, during the last thirty years before he was thus suddenly cut off. His talents were, from his earliest youth, such as to distinguish him eminently among his contemporaries. His mind seems to have been, from the first, exalted by the consciousness of his royal, although base birth. Until the truths of the Reformation won his assent, and the mean acts of duplicity employed against the reformers, provoked his abhorrence; he seems to have been faithfully loyal to that government, which was administered in the name of his sister. The preachers of the Reformation, and the nobles whom they had already gained, first taught him to conceive new views. Knox,

Character
of Moray.

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3 T

whom

* Buchanan: Melville: Hume of Godscroft, &c.

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whom nothing but the sanctity and disinterestedness of his morals—as to all personal and gross enjoyment, could persuade us to regard with any thing of the admiration due to a good and a great man; seems to have been the *dæmon* or the *genius* that first whispered in Moray's ear, how easy it might prove for him, to ascend to the highest honours, upon the ladder of religion! Deputed from the Presbyterians, to invite his widowed sister home from France; he was thus placed on the fore-ground in a manner that forced him to aspire to become the leading administrator of the government, during her subsequent reign. Might he have administered the government, without opposition, and without the fear of degradation; he would most probably have continued inflexibly honest. Cabals formed against him; crimes undertaken or actually perpetrated, for the purpose of working his overthrow; the apparent necessity of employing artifice, if he were not willing to yield to the triumph of his enemies; gradually drove him to practise all the criminal arts of a statesman; and to make state-utility, or private utility, in all instances, the ultimate principles which were to guide him in regard to the right or wrong of his conduct. Having thus learned to act the statesman and the politician, he must be confessed to have ever acted the part with

with the most consummate ability. He was ever after ready to scruple at no crime which political utility seemed strongly to recommend; but in all instances in which political utility did not recommend what was criminal, to adhere inflexibly to that which was right. Such was his character to the last! Ever the ablest among his contemporaries: Ever virtuous, where vice and crime were not recommended by political utility: Ever ready in the last trial of rectitude, to be wicked and great, rather than to be steadily virtuous, and to be at the same time ruined!

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THE assassination of the Regent appeared, as if it had been the signal to Mary's partizans in general, to take up arms, and assert the rights of their injured Queen. On the borders, Scott of Buccleugh, and Ker of Fernihurst, no sooner heard of the slaughter, than they led their vassals into England, upon a pillaging expedition, to revenge the fate of their friends, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and, if possible, to involve their country in a war with England, which should leave it no longer possible for the adversaries of Mary to maintain their authority by the favour of Elizabeth. Kirkaldy of Grange, the governor of the

New hopes
and efforts
of Mary's
party.

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castle of Edinburgh; friendly to Mary, ever since the conditions on which she surrendered herself at Caerbury, had been violated by those with whom he at that time acted; now set at liberty the Duke of Chattelherault, the Lord Herreis, and Maitland, who had been for some time his prisoners. Throughout the kingdom, the partizans of Mary took up arms. Verac, the ambassador of Charles the Ninth, arrived from France to encourage their efforts. Kirkaldy and Maitland were alone equal to an host! Although the Duke of Chattelherault was a man of no powerful talents, his son Lord Claude, his brother the old Archbishop of St Andrew's, and Gavin Hamilton, Commendator of Kilwinning, possessed abilities which might be accounted sufficiently adequate to guide the efforts of their party. Application was earnestly made to Elizabeth in favour of Mary. It was hoped, that the liberation of this unfortunate Princess might now be obtained; and that she might be restored, once more to reign on the throne of her fathers*,

Elizabeth
assists the
enemies of
Mary.

BUT, though Moray was cut off, the party of which he had been the head, was still strong in men of talents. Morton was crafty, flagitious, bold, and yet sufficiently cool. There

were

* Eosdem quos supra,

were many not unworthy to second him. Knox, with the clergy, and those who were, for the sake of religion alone, unfriendly to Mary, no sooner seemed to themselves to see the interests of the Reformation once more at stake, than they arose to defend its cause with an activity and an ardour which they might, otherwise, not have chosen to exercise. Elizabeth felt, that she had proceeded too far in her measures for the oppression of Mary, now to draw back; that Mary, if now set at liberty, under whatever conditions, could not well fail to become her mortal foe; that if Mary should be restored to the Scottish throne, all those efforts which she had almost improved to success, even while in captivity, would not fail to be renewed against Elizabeth's authority, and to be renewed with an energy that could scarcely fail to make them prosper. Elizabeth, therefore, listening to the representations and the intreaties of Morton and his party, dispatched without delay, a body of troops, at once to retaliate the hostilities of the Scottish borders, and again to give a decisive preponderancy to the party of Morton, in the affairs of the Scottish government. The Earl of Suffex, and these English forces under his command, were gladly met at Berwick by those who called themselves the King's party. Measures were quickly concerted between Morton and the English,

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English for the immediate ruin of all those who espoused the cause of the Queen. The Earl of Lennox, destined to the Regency, was conducted by the English forces, in triumph to Edinburgh. On the twelfth day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, Lennox, a weak man, subject to be easily guided by Morton, was, by the unanimous consent of the whole party, exalted to the office of Regent. Since he was the grandfather of the infant King, it was natural to suppose that his exaltation must prove less invidious, than that of any other noble of the same party*.

Misfortunes of
Mary's
partizans.

THE exaltation of Lennox to the Regency, did not immediately suppress Mary's party. Aided by the English troops, the friends of the King had already terribly wasted the possessions of the Hamiltons, and of others of their opponents. Lennox and those nobles who directed his counsels, were impatient to distinguish his regency by exercising vengeance on all who disowned its power. Assistance was sought, not in vain, from the Duke of Alva, the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands, for the support of the Catholic party in Scotland. Elizabeth once more for a while amused Mary and her friends, with the pretence of a friendly negotiation,

* Hume of Godscroft : Buchanan : Camden, &c.

tiation, which was after some time broken off, SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII. without advantage to them. The castle of  Dunbarton, which, ever since the battle of Lang- A. D.
1542 to
1580. side-hill, had been maintained for Mary; was by a stratagem taken by Crawford of Jordanhill. Among other illustrious prisoners, Hamilton, the venerable Archbishop of St Andrew's here, fell into the hands of his enemies. In revenge for the assassination of the Earl of Moray by a Hamilton, the Archbishop was brought to perish on the scaffold: and in him fell one of the chief supports at once of the interests of Mary, and of the Roman-Catholic church. In England, too, the illustrious Duke of Norfolk, having renewed his intrigues with Mary, in a manner still more inconsistent than before with his due fealty to Elizabeth, was again unsuccessful, was betrayed, and was, by Elizabeth's severe revenge, brought at last to die as a traitor on the scaffold. Every thing seemed still to frustrate the hopes, and to enhance the miseries of the unfortunate Mary*.

YET, amidst all her misfortunes, amid the successes, the activity, and the vengeful triumphs of Lennox and his party in Scotland; the generous Kirkaldy, the politic and obstinate Maitland, continued still true to the cause of their Queen.

* Buchanan, &c.

SECT. I. Queen. They were not averse from negotiation ;
CHAP. VIII.

but they still strove to command respect by their
A. D. active deeds in arms. From the castle of Edin-
1542 to
1580. burgh, which Kirkaldy now held, avowedly, for
the interests of the Queen, they still continued,
with truly formidable energy to annoy her foes.
At last, on the third day of September, in the
1571. year one thousand five hundred and seventy one ;
while the Regent and the Parliament sat at
Stirling ; a bold enterprize, concerted by Kirkaldy,
had well nigh proved fatal to Morton and his
associates. From Edinburgh, a powerful force
was secretly led by the Earl of Huntley, Lord
Claud Hamilton, and Scott of Buccleugh, to
surprise the nobles assembled in Stirling. At
the hour of four in the morning, they came
upon their foes unwarned of their approach.
Think on the Archbishop of St Andrew's! was the
word among the Queen's foldiers. Many were
slain ; the town was spoiled ; and the houses
were set on fire. Lennox, the Regent, perished
amidst the fray. At length, the fortunate re-
sistance of Morton, and the disorder of the
assailants, encouraged the party of the King to
rally. The assailants were soon put to flight :
And those whom they had come to destroy and
make captives, remained without other material
loss, than that of a Regent, whose feeble talents
had

had been able to contribute but little to the strength of their party *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

IN England, in the mean time, the discovery of Norfolk's recent conspiracy; the horror excited by the famous massacre of the Protestants, on St Bartholomew's day, in Paris; the threats which began to be murmured against the English Queen, by the most powerful Catholics abroad; the anxieties awakened for Elizabeth's life, by the restless agitation and plots of the English Catholics; and, added to these, the artful efforts of Elizabeth and her ministers; had at length excited the Parliament to enact a law, by which it was declared to be high treason for any person to claim a right to the crown during the life of the reigning Queen, and by which the Parliament indirectly arrogated at the same time to itself, the right of regulating and limiting at its pleasure the succession to the kingly power: a law evidently intended to confound the efforts and intrigues of the friends of Mary, and to unite the whole kingdom in opposition to her pretensions! To make the Court of France careless of Mary's fate, Elizabeth for some short time, encouraged the amorous addresses of the Duke of Anjou, brother to the French Monarch. It was about this time, too, that the Duke of Norfolk perished on the scaffold.

Events
and in-
trigues un-
favourable
to Mary.

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The

* Eodem quos supra.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1543 to
1580.

The tide of popular good will was thus turned, again, in favour of Elizabeth and of Protestantism. Neglected by her friends abroad; rendered odious to the greater part of the English; seeing no effects to result from the attachment of the few friends who yet remained to her in Scotland, save ruin to themselves; Mary still languished out her days in hopeless captivity. And, her captivity was unavoidably embittered by the reflexion; that she had at the first betrayed herself into this cruel and unjust confinement; and that every measure which necessity might urge her to employ for the purpose of accomplishing her deliverance out of it, would, if unsuccessful, be employed as a pretence for straitening her imprisonment, and enhancing her sufferings*.

Regency
and death
of the Earl
of Marre.

THE suffrages of that party who maintained in Scotland the authority of the infant King, quickly exalted the Earl of Marre to succeed Lennox in the Regency. Unsubdued in their loyalty to Mary, and in their hatred of her adversaries; the Gordons in the north, and several others among the Scottish nobles, still continued to prolong the civil war with desperate gallantry, and sometimes not without success. But, Marre, one of the most honest men of the party over which he presided, now shewed an earnest disposition

* Eisdem, &c.

disposition to distinguish his Regency by conciliating a peace between the two contending parties, which should terminate their intestine discord, and heal the wounds of his unhappy country. While hostilities were, with considerable success, eagerly urged by Morton and the Presbyterians, against Kirkaldy and those who, with him, occupied the town and castle of Edinburgh; a truce was, by the mediation of the ambassadors of France and England, negotiated between the contending parties; and the capture of the castle, and the fate of the generous Kirkaldy, were thus, yet for a while, delayed. During this truce, the treaty for a lasting pacification was diligently prosecuted between Kirkaldy and Maitland, on the one hand,—and Marre on the other. Both parties were sincere. The treaty was almost finally concluded between them. But, Morton, jealous of Maitland's talents, and secretly excited by Elizabeth; now interposed to frustrate the benevolent and patriotic purpose of Marre. The treaty was, by his mischievous endeavours, broken off; and Marre, with desponding anxiety, saw the evils of intestine war about to be again more fiercely renewed. His health was feeble. His spirit was deeply wounded, by the consciousness of the wickedness of those chiefs with whom he was associated, and by the aspect of the distresses of his country. After languishing for some short

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1560.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

time under a deep and settled melancholy, he sank into a mortal illness, and died universally lamented, as not having left, behind him, among all his party, a better man*.

A. D.

154. to

1550.

1572.

Death of
Knox.State of
the
Church.

ABOUT the same time died Knox, if not absolutely the author, yet, in some sort, the guardian-angel of the Reformation.—By machinations suggested by the avarice and the policy of Morton, arrangements had been recently introduced into the policy of the Presbyterian church, of which it was impossible for Knox, the steady disciple of Calvin, to approve. The first step taken by the Reformers, when their preaching and their other efforts began to be crowned with success, was, to appoint ministers to preach and to celebrate the ordinances of religion, each in his respective district. When the number of the preachers had been augmented; ministers were then fixed in smaller districts, such as particular parishes; and to maintain the general order, *superintendents* were nominated, to exercise, with the aid of the provincial ecclesiastical courts, much of that power which had before belonged to the bishops, with their chapters. Even this appointment of *superintendents*, was a sort of deviation from the plan of Calvin; yet, a deviation which the difference between the circumstances of Scotland and those

* Melville: Anderson: Calderwood, &c.

those of a single city, like Geneva, might well seem to justify. But, upon the forfeiture and execution of Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, Morton obtained for himself a grant of the revenues of that see. About the same time, he, in concert with other chiefs of his party, conceived the plan of renewing the Episcopal form of government, in the Scottish church. It was not difficult to find needy, ambitious, and money-loving clergymen, ready to make themselves eagerly subservient to the accomplishment of this purpose. After this plan had been once settled; the bishopricks, as they became vacant by the death of the old Catholic incumbents, were bestowed upon Presbyterian ministers; while the temporalities were granted to the different nobles of the party, on the easy condition of allotting a reasonable maintenance for the Protestant bishop, out of the revenues of every one of the old bishopricks. Whoever of the nobles, in these circumstances, could obtain a grant of the temporalities of this or that bishoprick, procured the office of its bishop to the minister who would accept the smallest allowance for his Episcopal maintenance, out of its whole income. A proper mutual understanding was gradually established between the clergy and the nobles of this whole Presbyterian party. Knox and some of the elder preachers of the Reformation, might regard it with indignation

and

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.
A. D.
1542 to
1550.

SECT. I. and sorrow : But, *they* were now sinking under
CHAP. VIII.

A D.
1542 to
1580.

Character
of Knox.

age and infirmities ; and the government of the church was of course to be administered by younger men. So unhappy was the state of the affairs of that church of which KNOX was the apostle, when he closed his life. He is to be regarded as a man of powerful abilities and high passions ; whom an enthusiastic conviction of the truths of the Reformation, elevated above all that was sensual, sordid, or selfish ; while it, at the same time, impelled him to employ with little scrupulosity, various means which were not the most pure and honest, for the propagation and firm establishment of those truths which he had embraced with a belief so impassioned. There seems to have been no inconsiderable resemblance between the character of KNOX and that of his favourite the Earl of Moray. Moray possessed but a portion of the ardent fiery soul of Knox, and little of his disinterestedness : KNOX possessed a part, and but a part, of the political sagacity and address of Moray *.

Vigorous
admini-
stration of
Morton.

MORTON now at length obtained the Regency of the kingdom, to which he had for some time aspired. The custody of the young King's person remained with the family of Marre, who had, indeed,

* Calderwood : Buchanan : Knox's History throughout, &c.

deed, for several generations retained a sort of hereditary title to this high office. Morton was strong in the support of Elizabeth, and was faithfully devoted to her interests. But, Hamilton, Huntley, Kirkaldy, and Maitland, with their inferior adherents, still composed a powerful party, who refused to acknowledge that authority which Morton was to administer in the King's name, and strove to restore the power, and to vindicate the liberty and honours of Mary. Unable to reduce all these adversaries to submission, by the direct use of force alone; Morton, although he had lately frustrated the treaty of Marre, scrupled not, himself, to have recourse to negociation. But, the generous and noble-minded Kirkaldy; when he might have obtained terms the most advantageous to his private interests, if he would have sacrificed those public principles, and those views in favour of Mary, which had actuated all his late conduct; scornfully rejected such a mean and selfish accommodation, and maintained his resolution of never laying down his arms, while it should appear possible for him to perform, by retaining them, even the slightest service to his Queen. The castle of Edinburgh, of which he remained master, was a pledge too important to be lightly delivered up. Unsuccessful with Kirkaldy, Morton next addressed himself to the heads of the houses of Hamilton, Huntley, and Argyle.

Wearry

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1543 to
1580.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

Weary of the contest, they soon agreed to submit to his government, and to own the illegality of their opposition to the King's power, on condition of obtaining an amnesty for whatever they had done against him, and of being confirmed in the possession of all their estates and privileges. Their vassals and dependents were likewise to share the benefits of this treaty. Thus successful in dividing and diminishing, by artful negotiation, the strength of his adversaries; Morton no longer expressed any solicitude to conciliate a pacification with those who held the castle of Edinburgh. Maitland, he viewed with vindictive jealousy and hatred. And, if he needed not to dread the political talents of Kirkaldy; yet the inflexible integrity and the heroic valour of this gallant knight, could not be regarded by him without fear. Elizabeth was ready to assist the enterprise now projected by her creature Morton, with a sufficient number of auxiliary soldiers. Aid in money and stores could not be very liberally transmitted to Kirkaldy from Mary's foreign friends, and was liable to be intercepted by the vigilance of Morton. The castle was at length closely invested. The besiegers were cut off from all access to supplies of provisions. The walls were battered into a pile of ruins, by the force of artillery which Morton employed. The brave heart of Kirkaldy was still unconquered. It was his wish to perish
honest

honest and undisgraced, amid the ruins. But the garrison, now reduced to a scanty number, hopeless of relief, and in want of almost every necessary, over-ruled his purpose. They surrendered the ruins of the castle, their commander, and their own lives, to Morton's dark revenge. Meaner men might be spared and neglected. But, Kirkaldy, Maitland, and the brother of Kirkaldy, were doomed to die as traitors. A sudden death, either by his own act, or by poison secretly administered from Morton, snatched Maitland from the ignominy of a public execution. The generous Kirkaldy, one of the most amiable and estimable of all the Scots of this age, perished on the scaffold, by the hand of the executioner, in the month of August, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-three. His brother, Sir James Kirkaldy, shared his fate. The efforts of the friends of Mary were thus finally suppressed; and Morton remained master of the whole kingdom *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

Death of
William
Kirkaldy
of Grange.

Thus exalted to a height of power, and fixed in a security, which none of the former Regents had attained; Morton did not bear his faculties meekly. He still continued to act as the devoted creature of England. He abused his authority to oppress those whom he hated; to enrich, by dishonest means, some of the basest among his

Oppressive
regency of
Morton.

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OWN

* Crawford: Hume of Godscroft: Melville: Burrel, &c.

SECT. I. own dependents ; to gratify, in contempt of all
CHAP. VIII.

the laws of justice and of religion, his own
A. D. inordinate ambition, his insatiable avarice, and
1542 to those gross sensual passion, which divided
1580. with avarice and ambition, the sway of his
heart. The Presbyterian clergy, the burghesses,
and the meaner commons, who composed the
great strength of the King's party, endured his
tyrannical curb with considerable patience, be-
cause his abilities and crimes had given their cause
to triumph. The nobles were, however, at length,
excited to murmur. As the prospect of the young
King's assuming the reins of government, advan-
ced ; the odium against Morton became gradually
stronger and bolder ; and the general complaints
of his tyranny and injustice, waxed still more and
more loud. A feud arising between the Earls of
Athole and Argyle, afforded the Regent a fair
pretence to interpose for the protection of that pu-
blic peace which these Earls violated. His inter-
position, threatening ruin to both their houses,
quickly excited the two Earls to unite, and bid de-
fiance to his power. In disregard of his treaty
with the Hamiltons, he sought to confiscate all
their estates, upon the death of the Duke of Chat-
telherault, with whom that treaty had been made.
An attempt to give the semblance of justice to his
persecution of this illustrious family by convicting
the Lord Claud Hamilton of a conspiracy against
his life, was shamefully disappointed. Even the
more

more zealous among the clergy, perceiving his in-
difference to the interests of religion, began, at last,
to look upon him with abhorrence. His power
was still great, and deeply rooted. But, a storm
sufficient to shake it, was now fast arising *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

UNDER the tuition of Alexander Erskine, un-
der the preceptorship of George Buchanan, the
young King had, all this while, been carefully
brought up at Stirling-castle. He had now arrived
beyond that age, at which the laws of Scotland
permit a minor to chuse *curators* for himself. He
was taught by those around him, to aspire to the
exercise of that power in his own person, which
Morton administered and abused in his name.
Erskine his governor, no doubt, conceived himself
to be not less worthy of administering the supreme
authority, than of directing his Sovereign's edu-
cation. And the general discontents, which Mor-
ton's sway had excited, at last encouraged Erskine
to try whether he might not succeed in degrading
the proud Earl from his greatness. Buchanan re-
fused not to aid, by his influence with the King, the
designs of Erskine. A council of the nobles was
therefore, by Erskine's contrivance, and with the
assistance of the discontented Earls of Argyle and
Athole, summoned to attend the King at Stir-
ling. None were invited, except men who, it
was well known, would be forward to advise the

Morton di-
vested of
the regen-
cy.

3 X 2

disgrace

* Buchanan: Melville: Lindsay, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

disgrace of the Regent. The council readily assembled. The King was declared to have assumed the reins of the government into his own hands. Morton was obliged to surrender the regency, with all the ensigns of its authority: and obtaining an act of approbation of his ministry while Regent, and a discharge for all his intromissions with the royal revenues; retired in humiliation, and under the exulting execrations of the people, to his castle of Dalkeith*.

Morton
recovers
his power.

BUT, those by whom this revolution was effected, wanted the abilities, the influence, and the mutual union, necessary to give stability to the new administration which they had formed. Feuds arose among some of the nobles who composed their party. Others, as being friendly to the ancient religion, were obnoxious to the jealousies and suspicions of the Presbyterian clergy, who, at this juncture, possessed no inconsiderable portion of political power. Morton having embezzled much of the revenue of the Crown, had left the government without those resources for expenditure, which were wanted to arm its powers with due energy. This crafty chief, discontent in the private station to which he had been reduced, soon strove to regain his ancient ascendancy. His artifices stirred up the young Earl of Marre against Alexander,

* Hume of Godscroft; Melville; Calderwood, &c.

Alexander Erskine, his uncle. Having thus sown SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII. the seeds of mischief among his enemies, Morton soon after found means to insinuate himself A. D.
1542 to
1550. into their counsels; conciliated the friendship of the Earls of Athole and Argyle; repaired again to the Court; was quickly in possession of almost 1578. all his former power; and seemed to hold the King his prisoner in Stirling-castle *.

It was but a short-lived triumph which he thus gained. The Earls of Athole, Montrose, and Argyle, took up arms to rescue their King out of his hands. They might have succeeded. But Bowes, the emissary of Elizabeth, interposing in Is again
attacked,
yet saved. behalf of Morton, so long the devoted creature of the English interests, alarmed them with the fear of her resentment; and thus procured a pacification between the adverse parties, which still left to Morton, high influence in all the affairs of the state. A social banquet celebrated this new reconciliation. The Earl of Athole did not long survive it: and his death was suspected to be the effect of poison, secretly administered by Morton, in the hours of convivial joy. No longer thwarted by a rival so formidable as Athole; Morton next set himself to ruin the house of Hamilton. By his advice, the estates of that house were unjustly confiscated; and the two young

* Eodem quos supra.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

young lords, who were its most promising representatives, were driven out to seek their safety in exile. A tender message from Mary to her son, was, also, by his counsels, disdainfully refused a hearing from James. Every thing went on, as yet, in a train fitted to confirm all the acts of Morton's regency *.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

BUT, the hour of his irrevocable ruin, was now on the wing. About this time arrived from France, Esmè Stuart, Lord D'Aubigné; the representative in France of Stuart Earl of Buchan, the cousin of King James the First of Scotland; and the son of the late Earl of Lennox, the grandfather of the present James, the young Scottish King. Esmè Stuart's ostensible reason for coming to the Scottish Court, was, to solicit from his cousin James, a grant of the estates and titles of the family of Lennox. He was in truth an emissary despatched from the French Court, to insinuate himself into the favour of the young Scottish Monarch, to undermine the influence of Morton and of the English at the Scottish Court, to win James to devote himself, as his ancestors had done, to the alliance and the views of France. Esmè Stuart was young, amiable, accomplished, the near relation of the royal youth in whose Court he presented himself. James was prone, as inexperienced and ingenuous minds

* Eosdem quos supra.

minds always are, to enter into the fondest intimacy of friendship, with any person fitted to attract his kindness. Stuart had not long resided in the Scottish Court, when he was loaded with almost every honour and emolument which James could bestow; and possessed his royal cousin's confidence so entirely, that almost every measure of the government was dictated by his advice. Created Duke of Lennox, he thought it necessary to establish his influence, that he should, at least ostensibly, profess himself a profelyte to the Presbyterian faith. His conversion from Popery, averted much odium which might otherwise have fallen upon him: And the mildness of his character seemed to render him, perhaps, the least unworthy favourite that such a Prince as James could chuse. James's favour gave his young cousin considerable wealth and authority: And this wealth and authority served to attract about him, a party whose support could not but strengthen the royal power against those nobles by whom it had been long overruled. With the Duke of Lennox, there arose, also, into the young Monarch's favour, James Stuart, a younger son of the family of Ochiltree, and captain of the royal guard; a man much more wicked and profligate than Lennox, and whom the imprudent partiality of James soon enriched with the earldom of Arran. These were the persons destined to overthrow the proud and deeply-rooted greatness

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I. nefs of Morton.—The citizens of Edinburgh
CHAP. VIII. hated Morton, who was, however, all-powerful at

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

1579.

Stirling. By the advice of his favourites, therefore, James summoned his parliament to assemble at Edinburgh, in the month of October, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine. The course of affairs was conducted, at its meeting, in a train which evinced to Morton, that his power was quickly to expire. In the fear of conscious guilt, with the impotent grasping of ambition, he acted in such a manner as to excite a suspicion that he was conspiring to seize the King's person, and to deliver him into the power of Elizabeth. Alexander Erskine added his influence to that of the party of the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran. Elizabeth in vain interposed, with threats, advices, and artifices, to avert the fall of her creature Morton. He was accused, taken into custody, brought to trial. His enemies were his judges: His friends wanted influence to save him. He was condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. And, as James's present favourites were willing to exculpate his mother from those imputations, under which she languished in captivity: the crime of having been an accomplice in the murder of the King's father, was the most hainous of those charges of guilt, under which Morton was condemned. The crimes, under the accusation of which he now fell, were not the most flagitious

deeds of his life. He was perhaps, in a great measure innocent of them : For the King would not recall that approbation of Morton's regency which he had formerly granted : And while his regency was left unimpeached, it was less easy to find out in the other transactions of his life, just cause for his condemnation. It is probable, that the consciousness of his innocence of the charges for which he was condemned, might serve to hinder his conscience from being, amid his last distress, afflicted by the recollection of that long train of profligate and flagitious deeds, which he had actually committed. He met his fate with serenity and firmness : And when he was brought to the scaffold, seemed to triumph over his enemies, in the assured hope of a happy immortality. In talents, Morton was not inferior to Moray, Maitland, Knox, or Kirkaldy ; the most illustrious of those great men who acted with him, upon the same theatre of public affairs. But, he was certainly the most selfish, treacherous, and immoral of them all. Even Moray and Maitland appear to have had considerably more of honesty than Morton. It was in the summer of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty one, that Morton terminated his career on the scaffold *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

THOSE nobles, at whose instigation Mary
3 Y had

* Melville : Calderwood : Hume of Godscroft, &c.

SECT. I. had been dethroned and driven into captivity,
 CHAP. VII. had now all perished. But, the principles and

A. D. the system of government which they had in-
 1542 to troduced, were too firmly established, to be
 1580. overthrown. The chiefs who in defence of Mary's

rights, opposed them, had been likewise cut off.—

The Presbyterian, Burgesses, and the other Commons, the great engines by means of whom Moray and Morton had achieved their principal purposes, still retained their pristine influence and spirit.

Hopeless Elizabeth, by means of her ambassadors, her spies,
 condition of Mary. and Scots who, to serve her, betrayed their coun-

try; still contrived to exercise a sort of over-ruling superintendence and vigilance over the affairs of Scotland. Mary from her prison, could do little in order to obtain justice from her subjects, and her son. The Court of France, and the powerful and restless Monarch of Spain, were too busily occupied in opposing Protestantism in their own dominions, to direct their cares to such a distance as Scotland, with any considerable efficacy. Even James once seated on the throne, could hardly be

A faction of the nobles make themselves matters of the King's person, & remove his favourites from his presence. very willing to descend from it, in order to give place to his injured mother.

YET, while Lennox and Arran were the favourites and ministers; the French interest became gradually more popular at the Scottish Court. The

The old nobles were soon inflamed with envy of the upstarts. The flagitious and insolent manner of Arran were such as could not possibly fail to give general offence. Elizabeth took the alarm. Above all, the Scottish clergy were soon transported with the fears of Popery and apostacy, and filled the kingdom with their angry clamours, and with the infection of their rage. James with his two favourites passed their time usually at Dalkeith, the seat of Lennox, or at Kinneil, the seat of Arran, in youthful amusements, such as did not well accord with the cares of government, and could not but give offence to the puritanical zeal of the Scots. His favourites gradually became not less unpopular than Morton had been, in the season of his most impotent and licentious tyranny. At last the Earls of Marre, Glencairn, and Gowrie, the Lords Lindsay, and Boyd, with other Barons, entering into a combination, made themselves suddenly masters of the King's person, at Huntingtower near Perth, as he was on his return from taking the amusement of the chace for some time, in the district of Athole. The clergy soon zealously approved, and called the nation to approve, this bold enterprize. Masters of James's person, these nobles made themselves soon also masters of his power. Lennox was, after various delays, and not without infinite reluctance, obliged at last to depart for France; where he soon after died.—

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII

A. D.
1542 to
1580:

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1550.

Arran was likewise exiled from his Sovereign's presence, and commanded to confine his residence to his house of Kinneil. Ambassadors from foreign nations interposed without success, to demand that James should be again set at liberty. Elizabeth lent her encouragement to those who confined his person and usurped his authority : And the Scots in general had been now too long accustomed to treat the persons of their Sovereigns with the utmost freedom and disrespect *.

At last, James found means, by the aid of the Stuarts, the family of Arran, and of some other nobles acting in concert with them in his favour, to interest his keepers, and to recover his liberty. Visiting, with their permission, the castle of St Andrews; he caused its gates to be shut, at a time when none but his confidential servants were yet admitted; and thus excluded from his presence, all those by whom his authority had been lately usurped. His next measure was, to summon around him, all those nobles who were adverse to the faction, out of whose hands he had escaped, and faithfully loyal in their duty to him. But, the party who were thus divested of power, found themselves still sufficiently strong, not to dread their Sovereign's resentment. Elizabeth's interposition was ready to intercede for their restoration to his favour: but

James recovers his liberty and authority.

* Melville: Calderwood, &c.

but they even scornfully refused to avail themselves of his proffered pardon: James had not long recovered his freedom, when the Earl of Arran was again gladly admitted into his presence, and restored to all his former influence in the administration of the government. Arran having regained his ascendancy, soon instigated James to measures of severity against those who had lately confined his royal person, which, instead of leaving them so arrogant as to scorn forgiveness, and maintain that they had done no wrong, alarmed them for their very personal safety. Walsingham, the ambassador of Elizabeth, coming at this time to the Scottish Court; was impressed with perhaps too favourable an idea of James's abilities; yet failed not to intrigue, according to the wonted practice of English policy, with that faction of James's subjects, which lay now under their Sovereign's displeasure. If James's former government had been weak; yet *their* mode of correcting it had been unquestionably illegal and traitorous. James, finding that he had now the power, and being still instigated by his favourites, would not forego his revenge. The clergy, who made themselves the accomplices of those traitorous nobles, felt also the effects of James's anger: and Andrew Melville, the most eminently obstinate and bold among them, was obliged to provide for his safety by flight into England. The Earl of Gowrie, at whose house
James's

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1580.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A.D.
1542 to
1584.

1584.

James's person had been seized, was taken into confinement, brought to trial, condemned, and at Stirling beheaded. The new attempts of the accomplices of Gowrie, were frustrated. After presuming to take arms against their Prince without success, they retired in fearful haste, into voluntary exile. In a subsequent parliament, held in the month of May, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-four, new laws were enacted, to reduce the turbulent and at this time powerful clergy, entirely under the controul of the royal power. The refractory ministers of Edinburgh opposed the execution of this law; till, to escape from James's indignation, they were all obliged to flee into England*.

In the mean while, the miseries of Mary's situation, instead of being alleviated, were still enhanced: and the injustice and severity of Elizabeth towards her unfortunate cousin, served only to aggravate the anxieties and the danger of her own condition. Mary's guilt and folly had at the first weakened her hands, so as to humble her before her own subjects. Careless of what law, justice, and loyalty required; they thought only of taking advantage of their Queen's misconduct, in order to secure their own safety, to gratify their own ambition, and to confirm that new ecclesiastical

Wrongs of
Mary.

* Melville.

tical establishment, which they had introduced into their country. Extreme inconsiderateness had betrayed her into the power of her rival Elizabeth. Elizabeth, like Mary's disloyal subjects, consulted nothing but the suggestions of selfishness, and of dishonest policy in her conduct towards her unfortunate cousin. However guilty Mary might be, the *feudal policy* conferred on her subjects no other power against her guilt, than that of refusing in Parliament whatever concessions she might ask, otherwise than upon reciprocal conditions from her, which should serve, in some measure, to punish and check her guilt. However dangerous her rivalry to Elizabeth; the *law of nations* gave Elizabeth no other power with respect to her, than that of either entertaining her in freedom and with royal hospitality, or else commanding her instantly to depart out of the English dominions,—of either aiding her against her rebellious subjects, or else refusing her all countenance and assistance. However fortunate may have been the consequences of the crimes perpetrated against Mary by the Scottish Reformers and the English Queen; we are not to consider the guilt of those crimes, as having been, for this reason, in the first instance the less. To depose Mary, to drive her into exile, to detain her in confinement, to offer to bring her to trial, to amuse and torment her by ten thousand false pretences, were so many cruel injuries

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1584.

SECT. I. injuries which might seem to justify almost
CHAP. VIII. any of defence and reciprocal attack, em-
A. D. ployed on her part against their authors. Her
1542 to matrimonial negociations with Norfolk; the
1554. attempts made, with her knowledge, to interest the English parliament, in her favour; the successive conspiracies which she fomented against Elizabeth; her endeavours to draw the arms of foreign powers to invade the isle for her sake;—with all the efforts of her partizans, both in Scotland and England for her deliverance; must be regarded as laudable and just, when regarded in comparison with her wrongs. Even at this time, and in almost her lowest distress, she still continued to stir up conspiracy against Elizabeth's life, and to torture that Princess's mind with continual and agonizing suspicions. The Catholic Princes abroad, seem to have considered Elizabeth the cruel oppressor of Mary, and the principal foe of their religion, as being their common enemy. The ambitious Philip of Spain, was meditating a mighty design to conquer England, to deliver Mary, to chastise with terrible severity the ally of his seditious subjects in the Netherlands, to restore Britain once more to the empire of the Catholic church. Even James, while under the influence of such a minister as Arran, while occasionally expressing some share of pity for his mother's wrongs, while indignantly sensible of the intrigues of Eng-
land

land to corrupt the loyalty of his subjects, began to be feared by Elizabeth, almost as his mother had formerly been. Elizabeth found herself in the condition of those persons whom selfishness hurries onward from guilt to guilt : Every former crime still appearing to render some more atrocious new one necessary. She began now to be fully persuaded, that her own safety could be secured by no other means, than by putting the Queen of Scots to death. Her own Protestant subjects sympathised with her feelings. The catastrophe of Mary's tragedy was now near *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1562.

JAMES continued to conduct himself, in those difficult circumstances in which he stood, with no contemptible address. He had now attained to a considerable maturity of age. His talents far from mean, had been sufficiently exercised by George Buchanan, his tutor, in the literature and erudition which were the most fashionable in that age. His governors, regents, and courtiers, had failed, indeed, to do him equal justice, in respect to a practical knowledge of human business and affairs. Buchanan was now no more. James had been for a while emancipated from all preceptorship and tutelage. Arran and some other worthless favourites, had still but too much influence about his Court. Yet, it must be owned; that, to humble the clergy,

James's
admini-
stration;
and Eliza-
beth's con-
duct in re-
spect to
him and
his mother.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1588.

to retain the favour of the Presbyterians, not to offend too deeply the Catholics at home and abroad, to make himself respected yet not hated by Elizabeth; were precisely those objects to which it became James to direct his policy: and that he attained all these objects, with a degree of felicity, which ought to reflect no inconsiderable reputation on his political talents. Elizabeth, amid her fears of a Spanish invasion, deigned at length to solicit James's close alliance, and to gratify him, as the heir apparent to her crown, with a pension of five thousand pounds a-year. The banished nobles were, by her influence, once more restored to their country; and with the heirs of the House of Hamilton, obtained the pardon of their treason, and the restoration of their estates and honours. James himself had, for a time, almost become the minion of the English interests. Arran, at last deprived of the fond favour of his King, was divested of those estates and honours of the Hamiltons, in which he had for a while triumphed, and fell back into the humiliation of his pristine condition. That close alliance which Elizabeth desired, was contracted with England. Even the new favourites who arose around James, were the creatures of the English Queen. Elizabeth, receiving new provocation from Mary, began to be satisfied, that she need no longer hesitate, out of respect for James, to put his mother to death*,

A

* Eodem quos supra,

A conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth, and to effect the deliverance of Mary, in which the principal agent was a person of the name of Babington; was detected in England. The Queen of Scots was accused as an accomplice in its guilt. Elizabeth and her Council, without delay, instituted a trial, to convict Mary of this crime: And her condemnation and execution were speedily to close the whole. Commissioners were sent for this purpose, to Fotheringay where Mary was now confined. They summoned her before their tribunal; but she disdained their jurisdiction. The Lord Burleigh, with a number of the English nobles, composed the court. While Mary denied their right to bring her to trial, had she even been guilty; she however failed not to assert her own innocence. The trial lasted for two days. But, it was not till after some farther delay, that the Commissioners ventured to pronounce her guilty. Elizabeth contrived to procure her parliament—to approve these transactions, and to press for the execution of the condemned Queen. James, in vain, made some eager efforts to avert his mother's approaching fate. The interposition of France proved also vain. The sentence pronounced against Mary was made public; and the Scottish clergy seemed to exult in the prospect of the immediate murder of a person whom they so abhorred. Still however Elizabeth hesitated, and was afraid to

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1558.

Unjust
trial, con-
demnation
and execu-
tion of
Mary.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VIII.

A. D.
1542 to
1558.

command the last act. She wished that Mary might be cut off by assassination; so that she herself might have reaped the benefit, without sharing the odium of the crime. She could find none sufficiently base or imprudent to perpetrate such a deed. At last, the fatal order was formally issued. The Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury were dispatched to see it carried into execution. Mary took leave of her servants with tenderness; intrusted Sir Robert Melville with her last commands to her distant friends; soothed and composed her feelings, by warmly celebrating the suitable exercises of her religion; and then, with becoming fortitude, met her end. She was thus unjustly beheaded, in the forty-fifth year of her age, after more than eighteen years of captivity, in the beginning of the month of February, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty seven. Elizabeth pretended to lament her death, and disgraced the minister by whom the order for execution had been dispatched: Vain hypocrisy! *

Her character.

Of the character of Mary, after the preceding detail of her life and misfortunes, there remains little to be here added. The errors of her early years, may be reasonably imputed to her personal accomplishments, her high fortune, her inexperience, the base flattery and political hypocrisy of those

* Melville's Memoirs, &c.

those by whom she was surrounded. Had she not been stopped short in that career of guilt and error; perhaps she might have gone on with Bothwell from bad to worse, till she had reached the last extreme of human depravity. But, her sufferings purified her character, corrected her evil passions, exalted and confirmed all her virtues. Had she, after her long misfortunes, been at length restored to reign, and had her mind not been then warped by religious prejudices; she would perhaps have done higher honour to the throne, than any among all her royal contemporaries. Her talents were not at all inferior to those of Elizabeth. But, she was younger and more inexperienced, when called to reign; and her passions were, at that time, less under the controul of her reason. Dying by an unjust death; she naturally felt, in her dying hours, all the serenity of innocence; having long endeavoured to make her peace with Heaven, by humble penitence, for all the crimes and errors of her former life.

SECT. I.
CHAP. VI.

A. D.
1548 to
1552.

CHAPTER

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

CHAPTER IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.*From the Murder of MARY, to the Accession of
JAMES to the English Throne.*Progress
of affairs in
the Scot-
tish Court.

JAMES had been ardently sincere in his endeavours to save his mother's life. But, since her fate was not to be recalled, since more than half even of his own subjects exulted in her fall, since Elizabeth condescended to put on the guise of sorrow, and to soothe him by false pretences and apologies, since his own personal interests were in truth rather promoted than injured by his mother's death; he soon calmed his resentment, without persisting to wreak it in any impotent efforts of hostility against the English Queen. Gray, however, once his favourite, and upon this late occasion his ambassador in England, was, in consequence of the treachery with which he had contributed to the failure of the purpose of his embassy, deprived of his injured Sovereign's favour. Captain Stuart, once Earl of Arran, now despoiled and degraded, yet not entirely discarded from all influence with James; seized the occasion against Gray, by whom he had been formerly supplanted; accused him as a traitor; and procured him to be driven into perpetual banishment. This was the last distinguished effort of Stuart's influence. He sank into neglect and insignificance. Maitland,

the younger brother of him who had perished with SECT. I.
CHAP. IX. Kirkaldy, was now exalted to the office of Chancellor; and for a while, the weight of James's A. D.
1587 to
1604. administration seems to have rested chiefly with him*.

JAMES had now a part of considerable difficulty to act. His revenues were scanty in proportion to James's
conduct in
regard to
the Pres-
byterians
and the
Catholics. his necessary expenditure. It was requisite for him, to make himself a favourite with the Protestants in both Scotland and England, in order to remain secure upon his own throne, as well as to preserve the hopes of inheriting that of England. But the Scottish Presbyterians were fierce, jealous, seditious, and disposed to arrogate to themselves almost all the just power of their Sovereign. It was almost equally his interest, to gain the favour of the Popish parties in Scotland and England, and to avoid the enmity of the Popish powers abroad; lest these should strive to disturb his reign, and to oppose his pretensions. Yet, he could scarcely make himself acceptable to the Catholics, without alarming to fury the jealousies of the Protestants. Amidst these difficulties, this young Monarch, still with no mean address steadily and sincerely adhered to the Protestant cause, of which he was in some sort the nursing; yet soothed the Catholics by a tenderness for their interests, which inclined some
of

* Melville, Spottiswood, Calderwood, &c.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

of them fondly to hope, that he might one day declare more openly in their favour. To the overruling influence of Elizabeth even in his own kingdom, he submitted with a tolerably good grace; yet shewed, that he knew at times, to assert his independence, and to make his Majesty and his personal talents respectable in her eyes. The refractory Presbyterian clergy, he still struggled, with various success, to humble. To supply the deficiency of his income, he procured all the remaining revenues of the former church, save only the tithes, to be appropriated to the Crown. This act, taking away the rents of those bishops who had been introduced by Morton into the Presbyterian church, was on this account highly grateful to all the more zealous among its other ministers*.

A Spanish
invasion of
Britain
threaten-
ed.

BUT, Philip of Spain, although he had failed to deliver Mary from her captivity, was now hastening to avenge her death. Sovereign of the Netherlands, of Spain, of dominions in Italy, and of an immense empire in the American hemisphere; he, in consequence of this extent, and this dispersion of his dominions, of the vast outline of sea-coast which they embraced, and of the commercial wealth and activity by which they were enriched; was master of far the most powerful naval force in Europe. His military forces on land were not disproportioned

* Eodem quos supra.

disproportioned to the greatness of his navy. He had now nearly equipped a mighty fleet, on board which, a great number of troops to act on land, were at the same time ready to embark. The conquest of the British isle, was the destined enterprise on which they were to sail. James, the proud Spanish Monarch condescended to court, to become the ally of his invasion, that Elizabeth alone might fall its victim. Although unsuccessful with James; he, however, won several partizans among the Scottish nobles, such as the Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford; and succeeded in reviving all the intrigues and the hopes of the Catholic party among the Scots. Elizabeth, while she earnestly made every possible preparation to oppose the invaders; again with more courteous condescension, with more ample offers of favour, with an application which seemed rather to solicit than to over-rule; sought to bind James's views and interests inseparably with her own. James returned an ardently favourable answer to her ambassadors, checked the motions and intrigues of the Spanish emissaries, and shewed himself determined to triumph or to perish with the Protestant interests. The Spanish fleet, vainly named the *Invincible Armada*, at last set sail. A storm arising, shattered and dispersed their mightiest ships, and drove them westward from the English seas. The small vessels of the English, from their lower

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.
A. D.
1567 to
1604.

SECT. I. structure and inferior size less liable to injury from
CHAP. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

the tempest; attacked the lofty ships of Spain with great advantage, destroyed many of them, and made many their prizes. Of those Spanish vessels which escaped the pursuit of the English, and weathered out the first fury of the storms, not a few sought their way between Britain and Ireland, and around the north-west coasts of Scotland. But, the whole nation had bound themselves, before the Lord, in solemn *covenant* with their King, to meet the invaders with nothing but unrelenting hostility. On the coast of Galloway, among the Hebudian isles, among the Orkneys, in narrow seas, and on unknown coasts, most of those huge Spanish ships of war were fatally wrecked; and their wrecked remains became the prey of the Scots. Yet, James, with a humanity highly worthy of a Monarch, received with kind hospitality about seven hundred of those Spaniards who were thus cast away on his shores, and sent them away in due time to their own land, in safety and in peace. Thus were the boasts of Philip frustrated; the fears of England happily closed in triumph; and the naval strength of her most formidable foe so fatally wasted, that it could not again speedily become dangerous *.

JAMES,

* Melville: Calderwood, Cambden, &c.

JAMES, by the steady energy with which he on this occasion attached himself to the Protestant cause, failed not to make himself considerably acceptable to the Protestants throughout Britain.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

But, when the danger had overblown, Elizabeth no more remembered those lavish offers which had been lately made to him in her name. The Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, with some others of James's subjects, continued still to intrigue with Philip, till they were repeatedly detected, humbled, confined; yet by James's artful lenity, after no long imprisonment again set at liberty. The Presbyterian clergy still arrogated to themselves the right of censuring James's government, and of alarming his people from time to time into sedition against him; but were from time to time checked and humbled by the Monarch's vigilance. Elizabeth renewed her intrigues to disturb the Scottish government; yet began gradually to feel, that, while she must sink under the infirmities of age, her subjects would still turn their eyes more and more upon James her expected successor *.

JAMES had now advanced in age, to the prime of manhood. His youth had not been made notorious by any licentious amours. But, it was his own wish, as well as that of his people,

4 A 2

and

* Cambden, Melville, &c.

SEOT. I. and even of the English, that he should be united
CHAP. IX. in marriage to some Princess worthy of his bed.

A. D. The jealous and capricious Elizabeth shewed
1587 to herself desirous to oppose and thwart his hopes
1604. of marriage, as she had formerly thwarted those
of his mother. She engaged even his own
ministers, and particularly, as was suspected,
Chancellor Maitland, to second her views. But
James's people were impatient for his marriage.
Their bold zeal triumphed over the artifices of
his ministers: A splendid embassy was at length
dispatched to the Court of Denmark: And Anne,
the second daughter of the Danish Monarch, was
granted to the wishes of the Scottish King:
While storms delayed the return of his ambas-
sadors with his ardently expected bride; James,
with lover-like eagerness, no longer brooking
delay, went on board a vessel, sailed to Den-
mark, consummated his marriage, and after
passing, there, some months in festivity and
joy, returned in safety home with his Queen,
and was joyfully received by the whole Scottish
nation*.

ONE of the first displeasing acts of government,
which James was called to exercise, after his re-
turn out of Denmark; was, to take cognizance of
the treasonable imprudence of his cousin, Francis
Stuart.

* Eodem quos supra.

Stuart. This young man, the son of one of the natural children of James the Fifth, had for a time obtained, in some sort, the rank of a favourite at his cousin's Court, and had been created Earl of Bothwell. He had giddily consulted some pretended forcerers, concerning the future fortunes of James's reign : and these persons being brought to trial, in this age in which witchcraft was accounted one of the most real and the most serious of crimes ; made known, amid their confessions, the folly of young Bothwell. But, the facility of James's nature, and the principles of his policy inclining him, at this time, to pardon almost every crime ; the Earl was only cast for a short time into confinement. Impatient even of this slight punishment, he made his escape out of prison, and hastening to the north, set his Sovereign at defiance. Huntley was commissioned to pursue him, and to suppress his rebellion. Under this commission, Huntley's most remarkable achievement was, the sudden assassination of the young Earl of Moray ; an act which was supposed to have been prompted by James's amorous jealousy, and which, in spite of the clamours of the nation, James would not rigorously punish. Bothwell and his adherents now lay under attainder, yet still lurked in the kingdom ; and soon made an attempt to seize the King's person at Falkland, which was with difficulty frustrated. A new Popish plot,

SECT. I.
CHAR. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

SECT. I. plot, contrived by the emissaries and creatures
CHAP. IX. of Spain, arose within no long time after, to give

A. D. a new alarm to the nation, but was happily de-
1567 to tected, disappointed, and with a reasonable seve-
1604. rity punished. James's minister, Maitland, be-
coming, soon after, obnoxious to the Queen,
and with her to the whole nobles of the name of
Stuart; a new intrigue was concerted, to remove
him from the presence and favour of his Sove-
reign, by the agency of the turbulent rebel Both-
well. Bothwell thus encouraged and supported,
made himself master of the King's person at Holy-
roodhouse; and, with his party, was for some
few weeks able to controul the royal power.
James soon shook off this dishonourable yoke,
called a convention of his nobles, and obliged the
rebellious Bothwell to seek his safety in exile.
The Popish rebels, while James's anger was turn-
ed against his cousin, once more solicited, and too
easily obtained their Sovereign's pardon. A new
attempt, made by Bothwell, in a sudden expedi-
tion from the border, was again disappointed;
and that rebel was at last obliged to seek refuge on
the continent, where he, after some time, died in
ignominy and want. Still instigated by Spain, and
supplied with money from the Netherlands, the
Popish Lords, Huntley and Errol, with their
partizans, continued to disturb their Sovereign's
government by repeated acts of sedition, till
James

James was at last obliged to march against them in arms. After reducing them to extreme humiliation and distress, he compelled them to retire into voluntary exile on the continent. Their efforts had injured, more than served the Popish cause: Yet, that reluctant severity, which they had compelled James to exercise against them, failed not to offend the whole Roman Catholic party; who began now to declare themselves in opposition to his claims to the English succession. Amidst these transactions, the death of Chancellor Maitland, deprived James of a minister who had served him with faithfulness and with ability, and whose death the Monarch sincerely regretted.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

1595.

ENDEAVOURS to regulate the state of his finances, by the institution of a new board of eight persons for the management of his revenues; the intrigues of the courtiers against those who were the ministers of his power; the desperate turbulence of the Presbyterian church, who arrogated to themselves a censorial civil authority, superior to all controul; now for a while engaged James's anxious attention, and gave scope for the exercise of all his bustling activity. The suspicions with which the clergy still viewed James's lenity to the Popish party, rendered their zeal and their censorial

SECT. I. cenſorial pretenſions fo much the more trouble-
CHAP. IX. ſome. All was fomented by the intrigues of

A. D. Elizabeth's agents, who ſtill ſtrove to retain
1587 to 1604. James weak, and mean, by holding his affairs continually embroiled. At length, Mr. David Black, miniſter of St Andrew's, exerciſed in the pulpit, that cenſorial authority which the clergy claimed, with a ſeditious virulence which could neither be overlooked nor forgiven. Yet, the Aſſembly of the church ſcrupled not to eſpouſe their brother's cauſe : and it was with difficulty that James could enforce a ſentence, by which, during his royal pleaſure, Black was exiled beyond the Spey. The clergy of Edinburgh, and the *Commiſſion* of the General Aſſembly, exerted themſelves with the moſt perfevering and outrageous activity, to ſtir up ſuch a general indignation throughout the city and the kingdom, as ſhould force the King to pardon Black, and ſubmit himſelf to their cenſorial controul. A tumult, by which James's life was ſeriouſly endangered, was, amid
Dec. 17. 1596. theſe bold exertions of the clergy, ſuddenly raiſed among the populace of Edinburgh. James, indignant, retired to Linlithgow, and commanded all the courts of juſtice, and the boards of the adminiſtration, to withdraw themſelves out of the rebellious city. The miniſters endeavoured to engage the Lord Hamilton, as the leader of a general rebellion, in which they were ready to raiſe

raise the whole commons of the nation to follow him. But the magistrates, and all the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh, now strove to propitiate the King's wrath; who threatened to inflict upon their community all the penalties of treason. The intercession of Elizabeth, the surrender of their most important privileges, and the payment of an ample fine, at length obtained the royal pardon to the city of Edinburgh, for the guilt which they had incurred by threatening the Sovereign's life. But, its ministers, whose treasonable offers Hamilton had indignantly rejected, were obliged to provide for their safety by flight into England. Pecuniary corruption won the clergy themselves to surrender those of their privileges, which had been found in the exercise, the most obnoxious to the civil power. The restoration of Episcopacy was soon recurred to, as an additional measure requisite to check the turbulence of the Presbyterians. Amid this triumphant career of his affairs, James once more pardoned the exiled Popish Lords*.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

In the mean time, Elizabeth advanced in years, and the hopes of the English were turned more and more towards James. By a composition, which he named *Basilicon Doron*, and ostentatiously printed for the instruction of the na-

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4 B

tion,

* Eodem quos supra.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

tion, he shewed to the world, that he was not deficient in that knowledge of the principles of civil government, which is necessary to a wise Monarch. He scrupled not to intrigue with the English nobles; and found very many of them sufficiently ready to worship the rising sun. He again, by various arts, highly suspicious to the furious Presbyterians, strove to conciliate the favour of the Roman-Catholics at home and abroad, whose opposition he had sufficient reason to dread. By an early application to the Protestant Princes, the relations of his Queen, he strove also to interest them in behalf of his pretensions to the English Crown.

Gowry's
conspiracy.

1600.

ANOTHER strange conspiracy to seize his person, for a moment disturbed the operations of his government, and the plans of his policy. He had set out from his palace of Falkland, upon a hunting excursion, on the morning of the fifth day of August, in the year one thousand and six hundred, when he was suddenly, and in a suspicious manner, invited by Alexander Ruthven, to repair to Perth, for the purpose of there receiving a treasure which had been seized by Ruthven, and of secretly examining the bearer, whom he still held in confinement. From the chace, James repaired to Perth, in compliance with Ruthven's desire, to the house of his brother, the Earl of Gowry. He was soon conducted to the closet, where

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.A. D.
1537 to
1564.

where Ruthven pretended to retain in confinement the man whom he had brought the King to examine. It was a man in armour belonging to the Earl of Gowry, who awaited him in that closet. An attempt was made to bind or assassinate the Monarch, but was frustrated by his cries and struggles. His attendants taking the alarm, soon rushed to save him. The Earl of Gowry and his brother were both slain amidst the fray. So few had been admitted into consciousness of their design, that the circumstances of this attempt could never be satisfactorily accounted for. The clergy lamented the fate of the Ruthvens, whose father had also suffered for treason to James. Nor could James and his courtiers ever persuade the zealous Presbyterian clergy, cordially to allow, that it had been in an attempt against James's life, and not in a base contrivance of James and his courtiers against them, that the Earl of Gowry and his brother perished. Perhaps it was with the contrivance of Elizabeth, perhaps it might be in concert with some persons in James's own Court, that this weak and wicked attempt was made. It may be, that *ASTROLOGY, the folly of the age, to the study of which the young Earl of Gowry was addicted, had impelled him, in concert with his brother, to employ these unequal and fruitless means, to revenge their*

SECT. I. *father's fall, and to procure their own aggrandizement.*
 CHAP. IX.

A. D.

1587 to

1604.

Conspira-
 cy of Ef-
 sex; and
 death of
 Elizabeth.

A conspiracy and insurrection soon after disturb-
 ed the closing reign of the Queen of England.
 The Earl of Essex had been one of her chief
 favourites. But, the boldness of his ambition,
 the impatience of his temper, his presumption
 upon her favour, and his miscarriages in a high
 military command, brought him at last to incur
 her serious displeasure. He had in the mean time,
 entered into a correspondence with the King of
 the Scots, was friendly to James's pretensions to
 the succession, and sought to secure his favour
 against the time when he should ascend the
 English throne. Impatient of restraints to which
 Elizabeth in her anger subjected him, he made
 an attempt to raise an insurrection in London,
 which should enable him to controul the royal
 will. He failed in his attempt. He was con-
 victed of treason, and perished on the scaffold. Eli-
 zabeth had intrusted him, in the days of his favour
 with her, with a ring which she wished him to send
 to claim her mercy, if he should be at any time
 reduced to this hapless necessity. He sent the
 ring. It was not delivered. Believing that he
 scorned to solicit, she angrily suffered him to die,
 although she rather wished to spare him. Learn-
 ing afterwards, how that an enemy had with-held
 the

the fatal ring when sent by Essex, she never smiled more. She was already sinking under the infirmities of age. She died of a sort of lethargic melancholy, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, the seventieth of her age.—Of her character, let it be sufficient here to observe; that she possessed all that majesty of mind which was requisite to give due dignity to the Crown; that her own personal interests being closely interwoven with those of her people and of the Protestant religion, she had the wisdom to see this, and to regulate all her conduct with a due regard to it; that the situations of the neighbouring Kings and nations, with the great authority which her father had acquired to the throne, and the decisive superiority which the Protestant religion had already obtained among her people, were the sources of much of that prosperity of her government which was attributed to the energy of her personal talents and the wisdom of her counsels; that, if free in her private character from the grosser and more licentious vices, she was, however, habitually guilty of some of the more gloomy and darkly selfish; that in policy, it was ever the *expedient*, with no very scrupulous regard to the *right* which she studied; that *strong common sense* appears to have been that most eminent talent of her mind from which all the greatness of her character has had its rise; but

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

Elizabeth's character.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

but that sometimes a woman's vanity, and sometimes tyrannical suspicions drove her to trespass against its dictates.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

James suc-
ceeds her
on the
English
Throne.

JAMES, in these latter years of his reign in Scotland, had laboured to civilize the northern and western Highlands, with their contiguous islets, with an enlightened and patriotic oeconomy highly honourable to his reign. On the eastern coasts of his dominions, he had with great zeal, laboured to advance the prosperity of all the fishing and trading towns. Throughout the whole kingdom, he had done much to promote the interests of the industrious Commons, who were now, since the Reformation, beginning to rise into new importance. He met, with sufficient readiness the offers of the English nobles, when they vied in paying their court to him, as they saw Elizabeth's end draw near. At her death, Elizabeth had declared her wishes that James might, without opposition succeed on her throne. The Lords of her Privy Council, proclaimed his succession, as soon as she had breathed her last. Noble messengers soon arrived at Holyroodhouse with the not unwelcome news. James was solemnly proclaimed King of England. Committing the government of Scotland to his Privy Council, and intrusting the care of his children to different noblemen,

noblemen, he forthwith departed for England. He was every where received with the fondest joy. He, on his part, lavished honours, and whatever he had to bestow, with a facility which shewed him to be indeed extremely desirous to recommend himself effectually to the good-will of his new subjects *.

SECT. I.
CHAP. IX.

A. D.
1587 to
1604.

* Calderwood : Burrel's Diary, &c.

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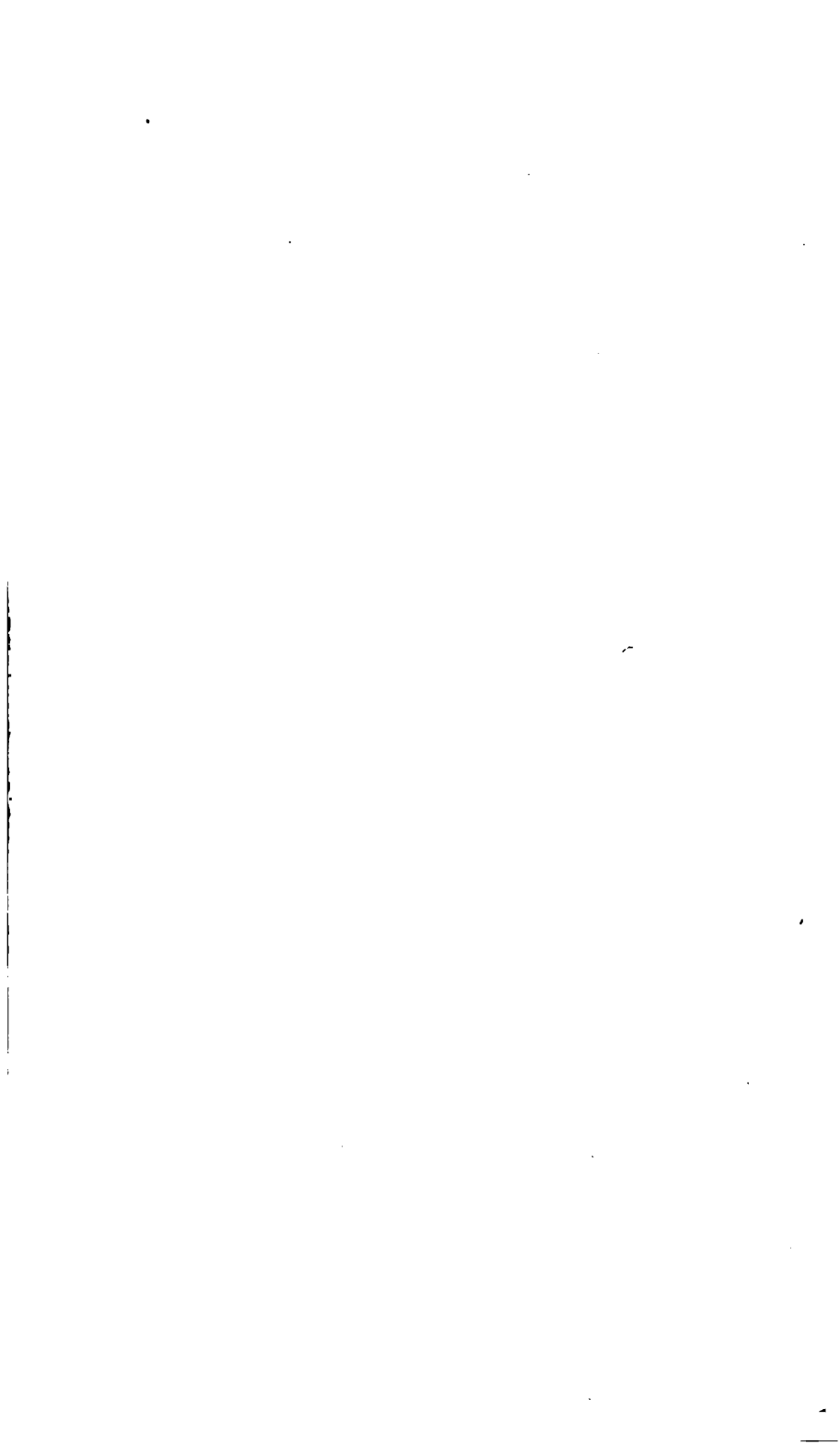
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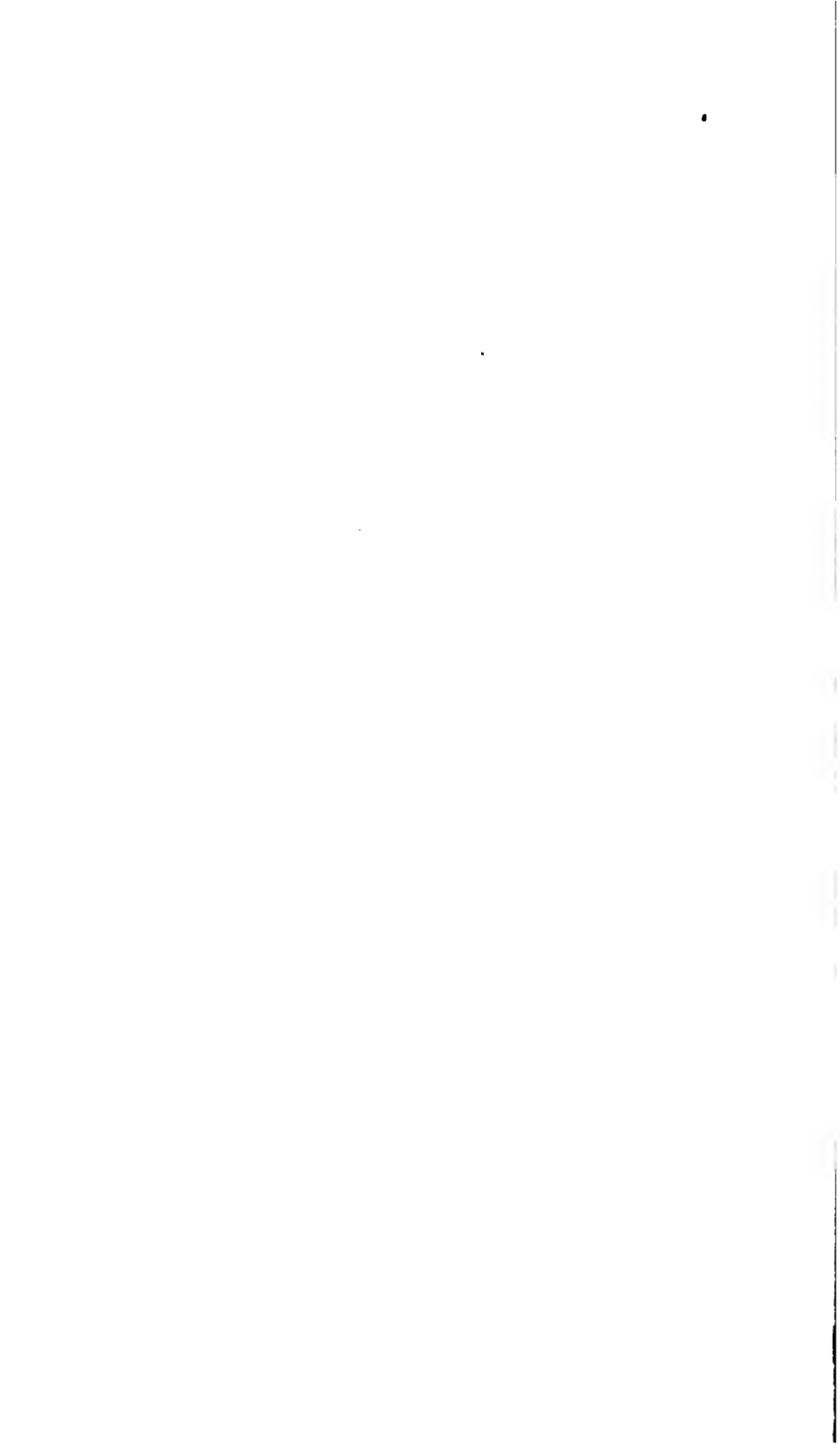
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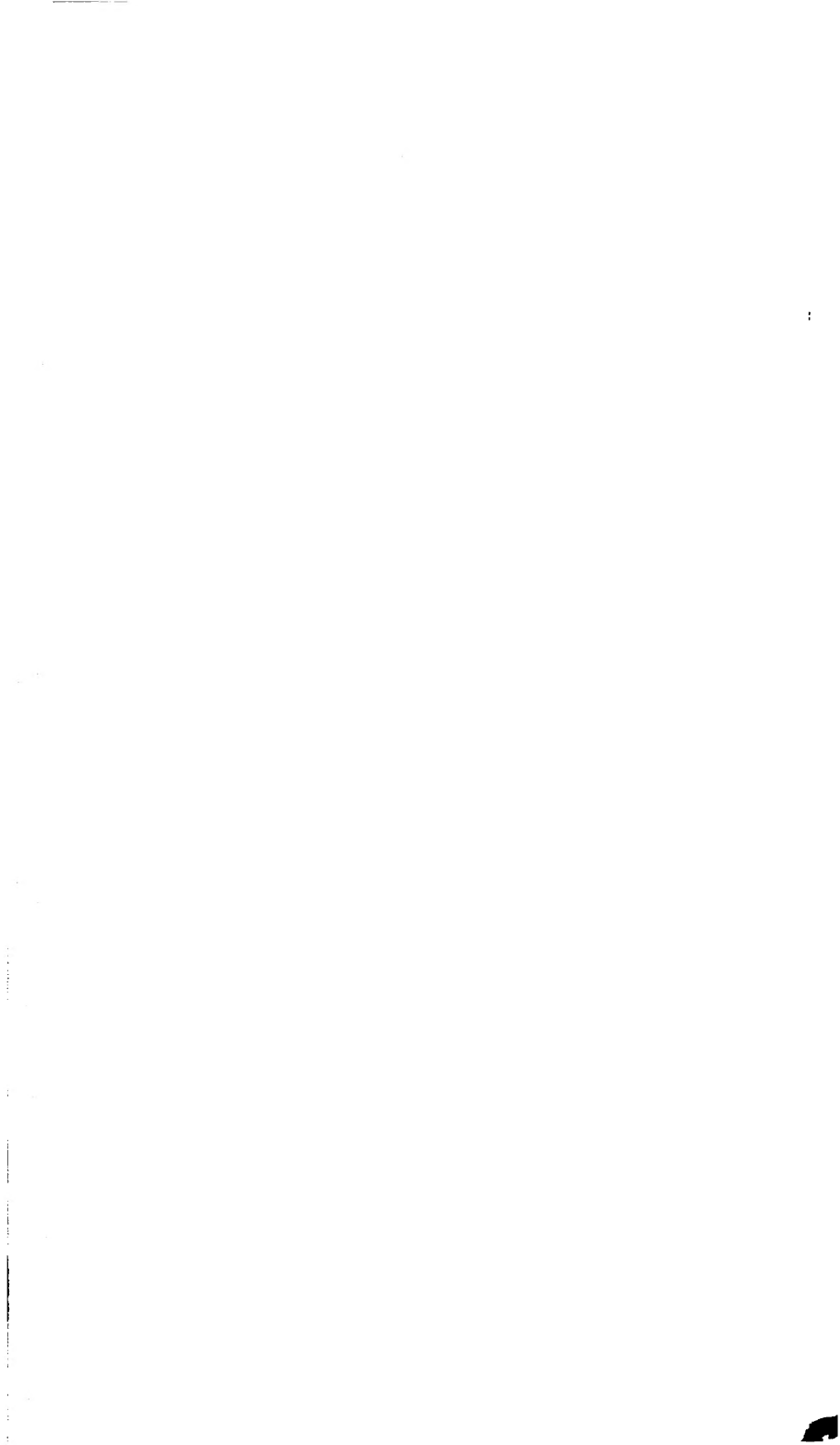
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